

THE LATER MEDIAEVAL BURGH KIRK OF  
ST NICHOLAS, ABERDEEN

Iain Fraser

Ph. D.

University of Edinburgh

1989



## CONTENTS

Abstract

Declaration

Acknowledgments

Abbreviations

Detail from Gordon of Rothiemay's Map of Aberdeen

Page

### Chapter 1:

Introduction: Death and Purgatory in Later Mediaeval Scotland 1

### Chapter 2:

The Chantry Chapel in Scotland 14

### Chapter 3:

The Structural Development of St Nicholas' Aberdeen 37

### Chapter 4:

Other Churches and Chapels of New Aberdeen 68

### Chapter 5:

The College of St Nicholas' 84

### Chapter 6:

The Burgh of Aberdeen and the Parish Church of St Nicholas 97

### Chapter 7:

Fraternities and Popular Devotion 109

	Page
<u>Chapter 8:</u>	
"Ane Cunning and Qualifeit Perseune"	
a) The Sang and Grammar Schools of Aberdeen	122
b) Universities and the Church of St Nicholas	130
c) Kinship and Patronage in the Burgh Kirk	140
d) The Chaplain in the Burgh	155
<u>Chapter 9:</u>	
The Church of St Nicholas and the Reformation in Aberdeen	164
<u>Conclusion</u>	178
<u>Appendix 1:</u> Chaplains and Choristers serving in St Nicholas' and in the Chapels of Aberdeen	187
<u>Appendix 2:</u> Altars and Chantries in the Parish Church of St Nicholas'	278
Bibliography	304
References	319

## ABSTRACT

Of all mediaeval Scottish churches it is those of the burghs that are best documented, and among these St Nicholas' of New Aberdeen is particularly fortunate.

The intercessionary institution of the chantry chapel reached its peak in popularity in Scotland at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Within the parish churches of the greater burghs private chapels proliferated, founded upon the wealth of burgess and local landed families.

By the mid-fifteenth century there had emerged within St Nicholas' a corporation of chaplains, possessed of common endowments for the celebration of anniversaries and other special masses. The pressures imposed upon accommodation by side altars and choral services resulted in successive major programmes of structural expansion. By the Reformation St Nicholas' was one of the largest parish churches in Scotland, housing some fifty chaplainries at thirty altars, and served by a choir of thirty-four. Between the mid-fifteenth century and the Reformation the names of more than two-hundred chaplains and choristers are known. Preference for kinsmen or those of local origin is clear in the regulations of both burgh council and of private chaplainries. Aberdeen possessed both sang and grammar schools. The close relationship of these and the choir is illustrated by some twenty of the sixty known choristers who later appear as chaplains. Bishop Elphinstone's foundation of a university in Old Aberdeen was followed by a significant increase in the number of graduates holding chaplainries within St Nicholas'. The activities of the staff were not restricted to the church. A succession of chaplain-notaries served as common clerks of the town, others as agents of the council or proctors of kinsfolk and local dignitaries.

By the fifteenth century the burgh council came to be the major patron of the parish church, employing many of the staff of the choir, holding the advocacy of numerous altars, and taking responsibility for the maintenance of the entire fabric with the reconstruction of the choir in the later years of the century.

As a major port Aberdeen's relations with the Continent were close. For the furnishing and decoration of the parish kirk the burgh council and private patrons were heavily dependent upon imported manufactured goods from Flanders. Trade was not the sole contact with the outside world. Despite the foundation of three universities in Scotland in the course of the fifteenth century, students continued to be attracted to the universities of the Continent, in particular, Paris. Whatever the local particularism of the patrons of the parish church, both the burgh and its staff were open to the influence of the wider world.



### Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is wholly of my own composition, and founded upon my own research. All sources of information, published and unpublished, are duly acknowledged.

Iain Fraser

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to a number of people for their assistance. Foremost among these is Miss J. Cripps of Aberdeen City Archives who was generous in her contribution of time, knowledge and patience.

Also in Aberdeen I am grateful for the help given by the staff of the University Special Collections, and of the Local Studies Department of Aberdeen Public Libraries. I am grateful to Aberdeen City Arts Department for permission to include the views of St Nicholas' on pages 58,59 and 60.

I am grateful to Professor G.W.S. Barrow for his support and patience. I wish to express my sincere thanks to Professor I.B. Cowan, Dr. L. Macfarlane and Dr. M.H.B. Sanderson for their advice at various stages. Thanks are also due to Mrs. D. Williamson for all her help.

My thanks are due to the Trustees of the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland whose grants for the years 1984-1987 allowed me to undertake this research.

My parents have supported me in all things.

## Abbreviations

### Manuscript

CR	Aberdeen Burgh Council Registers (Aberdeen City Archives, Edinburgh University Special Collections Microfilms, West Register House Microfilms)
SR	Aberdeen Sasine Registers (Aberdeen City Archives)

### Printed

<u>A.B. Ill.</u>	<u>Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff</u> (Spalding Club, 1847-49)
<u>Abdn. Chrs.</u>	<u>Charters and other Writs illustrating the History of the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen 1171-1804</u> , ed. P.J. Anderson (Aberdeen, 1890)
<u>Abdn. Counc.</u>	<u>Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1398-1625</u> , ed. J. Stuart, 2 vols. (Spalding Club, 1844-48)
<u>Abdn. Fasti</u>	<u>Fasti Aberdonenses: Selections from the Records of the University and King's College of Aberdeen, 1494-1854</u> , ed. C. Innes (Spalding Club, 1854)
<u>Abdn. Grads.</u>	<u>Officers and Graduates of University and King's College</u> , ed. P.J. Anderson (New Spalding Club, 1893)
<u>Abdn. Recs.</u>	<u>Early Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1317, 1398-1407</u> , ed. W.C. Dickinson (Scottish History Society, 1957)
<u>Abdn. Reg.</u>	<u>Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis</u> , ed. C. Innes, 2 vols. (Spalding and Maitland Clubs, 1845)
<u>Aberdeen-Banff Coll.</u>	<u>Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff</u> (Spalding Club, 1843)
<u>Aberdeen Epistolare</u>	<u>Epistolare in Usum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Aberdonensis</u> , ed. B. McEwen (Edinburgh, 1924)

Aberdeenshire Court Bk.

Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeenshire, 3 vols., ed. D. Littlejohn (New Spalding Club, 1904-07)

Arbroath Liber Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc (Bannatyne Club, 1846-56)

Treasurer Accts. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, ed. T. Dickson and Sir J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1877-1916)

Boece, Vitae Hector Boece: Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae, ed. J. Moir, (New Spalding Club, 1894)

Bulloch, House of Gordon

J.M. Bulloch: The House of Gordon (Third Spalding Club, 1907)

Cameron, Apostolic Camera

The Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices 1418-1488, ed. A.I. Dunlop (London, 1934)

Cowan and Easson, Mediaeval Religious Houses

I.B. Cowan and D. Easson: Mediaeval Religious Houses: Scotland (London, 1976)

CPL Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, ed. W.H. Bliss and others (London, 1893-)

Dunfermline Gild Court Bk.

Dunfermline Gild Court Book, ed. E.P.D. Torrie (Scottish Record Society, 1986)

CPR Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope, ed. W.H. Bliss (London, 1896)

Durkan and Ross, Libraries

J. Durkan and A. Ross, Early Scottish Libraries (Glasgow, 1961)

Ecclesiastical Records of Aberdeen

Selections from the records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery and Synod of Aberdeen (Spalding Club, 1846)

Edinburgh Burgh Recs.

Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1403-1603, ed. J.D. Marwick and M. Wood, 6 vols. (Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1869-92, 1927)

Eeles, King's College Chapel

F.C. Eeles: King's College Chapel, Aberdeen (Edinburgh, 1956)

Exchequer Rolls Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum: The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, ed. J. Stuart and others, 23 vols. (Edinburgh, 1878-1908)

Ferguson, Ecclesia Antiqua

J. Ferguson: Ecclesia Antiqua, or a history of an ancient church, St Michael's, Linlithgow (Linlithgow, 1905)

Fischer, The Scots in Germany

T.A. Fischer: The Scots in Germany (Edinburgh, 1902)

Glasgow Univ. Muniments

Munimenta Almae Universitatis Glasguensis, ed. C. Innes (Maitland Club, 1854)

Gordon, Description

James Gordon, Descriptioun of Bothe Touns of Aberdene (Spalding Club, 1842)

Haws, Parish Clergy

C.H. Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation, 1540-1574 (Scottish Record Society, 1972)

Hist. Mon. Comm. (Roxburgh)

Reports of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland e.g. Roxburgh (Edinburgh, 1909-)

Hunter, St Nicholas'

J. Hunter, 'The Church of St Nicholas, Aberdeen', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, cv, 236, (1972-4)

Kelly, St Nicholas' Church

W. Kelly, 'St Nicholas' Church, Aberdeen', in The North East: The Land and its People (Aberdeen, 1930)

Kennedy, Annals of Aberdeen

W. Kennedy: Annals of Aberdeen from the reign of King William the Lion to the end of the year 1818 (London, 1818)

Laing Chrs. Calendar of the Laing Charters, 854-1837, ed. J. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1899)

Logan, Collections

Logan's Collections, ed. J. Cruickshank (Third Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1941)

Louvain Matricule de l'Université de Louvain, ed. E. Reussens and Schillings (Brussels, 1903-58)

Köln Matrikel der Universität Köln, ed. H. Keussen (Bonn, 1892-1931)

Macfarlane, Elphinstone

L.J. Macfarlane, William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland (Aberdeen, 1985)

Macfarlane, Geographical Collections

Geographical Collections relating to Scotland made by Walter Macfarlane (Scottish History Society, 1906-08)

Mackenzie, An Ancient Church

A. Mackenzie, An Ancient Church: The Pre-Reformation Church of St John Baptist of Ayr (Ayr, 1935)

Moray Reg. Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis (Bannatyne Club, 1837)

New Grove The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. S. Sadie (London, 1980)

New Spalding Misc.

Miscellany of the New Spalding Club, 2 vols. (New Spalding Club, 1886)

Paris Uni. Auctarium

Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis (Paris, 1894-1964)

Patrick, Statutes

Statutes of the Scottish Church, ed. D. Patrick (Scottish History Society, 1907)

Peebles Chrs. Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Peebles (Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1872)

Peebles Recs.

Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Peebles  
(Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1910)

Prot. Bk. Cristesone

Protocol Book of Sir John Cristisone, 1518-51, ed.  
R.H. Lindsay (Scottish Record Society, 1930)

Prot. Bk. Rollock

Protocol Book of Sir Robert Rollok, 1534-1552  
(Scottish Record Society, 1931)

Rankin, The Parish Church of St Andrews

W.E.K. Rankin: The Parish Church of the Holy Trinity, St Andrews (Edinburgh, 1955)

Reg. Min.

Register of Ministers, Exhorters and Readers and of their Stipends after the Period of the Reformation  
(Maitland Club, 1830)

RMS

Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, ed. J.M. Thomson and others, 12 vols. (Edinburgh, 1882-1914)

Robertson, Concilia

Concilia Scotiae, ed. J. Robertson (Bannatyne Club, 1866)

RSS

Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, ed. M. Livingstone and others, 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1908-)

St A. Acta

Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sancti Andree, 1413-1588, ed. A.I. Dunlop (Scottish History Society and St Andrews University Publication No. 56, Edinburgh, 1964)

St A. Recs.

Early Records of the University of St Andrews, ed. J.M. Anderson (Scottish History Society, 1926)

St Giles Reg.

Registrum Cartarum Ecclesiae Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh (Bannatyne Club, 1859)

St Nich. Cart.

Cartularium Ecclesiae Collegiatae Sancti Nicholai, ed. J. Cooper (New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1888, 1892)

Spalding Misc.

Spalding Club Miscellany, ed. J. Stuart, 5 vols. (Spalding Club, 1842-52)

- Stirling Recs.     Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, ed. R. Renwick (Glasgow, 1887-9)
- Stone, Scottish Carmelite Friaries  
                   Three Scottish Carmelite Friaries, ed. J.A. Stone (Edinburgh, 1989)
- Thirds of Benefices  
                   Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices, 1561-1572 (Scottish History Society, 1949)
- Watt, Fasti         D.E.R. Watt, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638 (Scottish Record Society, 1969)
- White, Impact     A.J. White, 'The Impact of the Reformation on a burgh community : the case of Aberdeen', in M. Lynch (ed.), The Early Modern Town in Scotland (1987)
- White, Thesis       A.J. White, 'Religion, Politics and Society in Aberdeen, 1543-1593' (Edinburgh University Ph.D., 1985)

Other abbreviations:

<u>IR</u>	<u>Innes Review</u>
NLS	National Library of Scotland
<u>PSAS</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</u>
<u>SHS</u>	<u>Scottish History Society</u>
SRO	Scottish Record Office
<u>SRS</u>	<u>Scottish Record Society</u>
<u>TAES</u>	<u>Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society</u>





CHAPTER ONE

DEATH AND PURGATORY IN LATER MEDIAEVAL SCOTLAND

Preparation of the soul for the rigours of the afterlife bulked large in the mediaeval mentality. Ultimately the welfare of the benefactor in this world and of his soul in the next motivated every pious donation. The simplest expression of this concern, found in donations of the eleventh century onwards, tells of the charitable intent of the benefactor, and of his gift in return for the recipient's prayers for the salvation of his soul. A more developed phraseology emerges in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by which time the doctrine of Purgatory had been formalised and established as a tenet of faith. One form summarises the popular conception of the efficacy of masses and prayers for the dead. In 1464 William Scherar, a burgess of Aberdeen, endowed a chantry at the altar of St Duthac in the parish church of St Nicholas, trusting that "through devout prayers and the celebration of masses, wherein Christ the Son of God is offered to the Father for our sins, it is believed that sins are remitted, and the dead very often liberated from their pains and placed among the joys of Paradise." (1) Endowments specified in growing detail the manner of intercession to be performed, the frequency of prayer or mass, the conditions under which the contract was to be held as breached, and sundry regulations of service.

Despite the presupposition of Purgatory which underlay the endowment of chaplainries and anniversaries, the intermediate state received relatively little explicit expression in art and literature. Philippe Aries has pointed out that in France the word Purgatory did not become common in wills until the mid-seventeenth century, and preambles referred only to the eternal alternatives of Heaven and Hell. None, however, doubted the existence of an intermediate, probationary space neither hell nor paradise, where prayers and good works, or indulgences earned, might intervene in favour of those who languished there. (2) A complimentary dualism was identified by Huizinga in "lamentation about the briefness of all earthly glory, and jubilation over the salvation of the soul", two extremes of thought which dominated both lay and ecclesiastical literature in the fifteenth century. (3)

These attitudes towards mortality and the next world are found in the Scotland of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Both Henryson and Dunbar display a preoccupation with elegiac lament and with the inescapable and unpredictable nature of death. Suspicion of physical beauty permeated the pessimistic mentality of the age. Henryson dwells upon the corruption and decay of flesh, and of Death as the great leveller. "The Thre Deid Pollis" follows the macabre tradition of "The Three Living and Three Dead".

With gaistly sicht behold our heidis thre,  
Our holkit ene, oure peilit pollis bair!  
As ye ar now into this world we wair,  
Als fresche, als fair, als lusty to behald;(4)

Though Henryson's intention was moralistic, he betrays a preoccupation with the physical horror of Death. Similar ground is covered by his "The Ressoning betwixt Deth and Man". One of the outstanding creations of this genre is Dunbar's "The Lament for the Makaris". He deals with the transitory nature of this world, yet his fascination with the subject of Death itself far outweighs his concern with the religious and moralistic issues raised. The final stanza -

Sen for the deid remeid is none,  
Best is that we for dede dispone,  
Eftir our deid that lif may we;  
Timor mortis conturbat me.(5)

is a conventional sentiment eclipsed by his preceding account of Death's implacable nature. He returns repeatedly to the theme of mortality.

Quhat is this lyfe bot ane straucht way to deid,  
Quhilk hes a tyme to pas, and nane to duell;  
A slyding quheill as lent to seik remeid;  
A fre chois gevin to Paradise or Hell;  
A pray to deid, quhome vain is to repell,  
A schort torment for infineit glaidnes,  
Als schort ane joy for lestand hevynes.(6)

A sharp contrast to such dismal lyrics is afforded by Dunbar's exuberant celebration of "The Resurrection of Christ".(7) Yet even in the worship of Christ the later middle ages placed a morbid emphasis upon the physical sufferings of the Passion. Imported from

the Continent in the fifteenth century the cult of the Holy Blood and associated manifestations such as the Mass of the Five Wounds became a popular focus of devotion by both individuals and fraternities.

A potent alliance of time, fervour and neglect have claimed all but a few miscellaneous fragments of mediaeval ecclesiastical art. Although probably once widespread, only two examples of the Doom are known in Scotland, one on the rood screen of Elgin cathedral, destroyed in 1640, and the surviving ceiling panels of the south aisle of Guthrie College, built about 1475. The composition of the Guthrie Doom is of the conventional form found in England and the Continent. Christ, displaying the Five Wounds, sits in judgement over the world, the just being ushered through the gates of the celestial city by St Peter and attendant angels, the damned consigned to the fiery pits of Hell and the attentions of long-eared demons.(8) The theme of the macabre is well represented. At Ardchattan Priory, a slab of c.1502 bears six effigies, one of which depicts a cadaver in its open winding sheet, knotted at head and foot, a toad gnawing at its entrails. A broken free-standing cross shaft, dedicated to St Michael by Prioress Anna of Iona (d.1543), lies in the kirkyard of Soroby on Tiree and displays the emaciated form of Death bearing a spade in one hand and clasping the wrist of a nun with the other.(9) Built into the crossing arch of the church of Torphichen a third slab, dated 1538, commemorates the preceptor, Sir George Dundas, and bears a skeleton wrapped in its cerecloth. Two related macabre themes survive in Roslin College, where a carved vault rib depicts the Dance of Death, and a vaulting boss the Three Living and the Three Dead, works which may be dated to the second half of the fifteenth century.(10)

Numerous graveslabs bear supplications for prayers for the soul of the commemorated, yet explicit poetic or artistic allusions to the intermediate state itself are few. Dunbar refers only once to Purgatory, and this only as a literary conceit and a playful attack upon life in provincial Stirling.

We that ar in hevins glory,  
To yow that ar in purgatory,  
Commendis us on our hairtly wyis;  
I mene we folk in parradyis,  
In Edinburch with all mirrines,  
To yow of Strivilling in distress,  
Quhair nowdir plesance nor delyt is.(11)

If theology had long since delineated the marches between the eternity of Hell and the temporary tribulations of Purgatory, in the popular imagination this division was not so clearly defined, and the intermediate state still occupied the upper circles of the infernal region. Alone of Scots vernacular poets, David Lindsay on several occasions deals with the doctrine of Purgatory and its associated practises, but in no sympathetic wise. In the "Dreme", of between 1528 and 1530, the poet travels through the afterworld, first visiting Hell.

A lytill above that dolorous doungeon,  
We enterit in ane countre full of cair,  
Quhare that we saw mony ane legioun  
Greitand and gowland, with mony reuthful rair.  
Quhat place is this, quod I, of blys so bair?  
Scho answerit (and said) Purgatorye,  
Quhilkis purgis Saulis, or they cum to glorie.

I se no plesour heir, bot mekle paine,  
Quharefor (said I) leif we this sort in thrall:  
I purpose never to cum heir agane;  
Bot, yit, I do beleve, and ever sall,  
That the trew kirk can no waye erre at all.  
Sic thyng to be gret Clerkis dois conclude;  
Quhowbeit, my hope standis most in cristis blude.

In contrast to Hell, to which he devoted twenty five stanzas, Lindsay's passage through Purgatory took but two. Luther had condemned the doctrine of Purgatory in 1521, but there is no indication whether Lindsay's obvious and potentially heretical reservations were derived from these teachings or from personal doubts. In his later "Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis" and "The Monarch" his reservations developed into an unequivocal assault upon both the doctrine and its exploitation by the Church.(12)

Only in theological writings does any exposition of the doctrine occur. John Ireland's "Meroure of Wyssdome", written just before



1490, discussed the value of supplication for the dead and the solidarity between the two worlds: "Alsua, ye saulis in purgatorie knawis ye prayere that we mak for thame, and prayis for ws, and thar prayere eftir helpis ws gretlie."(13) In the 1540s and 1550s the Church attempted the conciliation of its critics by a major reform initiative. In 1552 a vernacular Catechism was issued, containing no reference to the authority of the Pope. Yet, if the ground was being prepared for a break with Roman authority and compromise with the reformers, the Catechism held by and justified most elements of its practice and ritual, including the doctrine of Purgatory and the efficacy of suffrage for the dead - "It is an haly and helsum thocht to pray for the saulis of the departit, that thai may be lowsit fra thair synnis."(14)

None of the poets cited had as their concern a theological exposition, but dealt rather with those subjects which commanded their emotions and fed their imaginations - the wonder of the risen Christ and the glories of Heaven, the merciful intercessions of the Virgin and of the Saints with their richly coloured histories, the monitory and picturesque torments of Hell, the brevity of life and of all earthly glory, and the implacability and horror of Death. The logical necessities and doleful processes of Purgatory lacked the sharp edge of emotional appeal and presented problems in distinctive artistic representation. The sufferings of the damned depicted in the cautionary Doom paintings were as illustrative of Purgatory as of Hell. Popular comprehension of the niceties of particular and general judgements were of relatively little importance to the mass of the faithful. Yet if the temporary expiation of Purgatory may have been an unsatisfactory artistic subject, this did not reflect widespread scepticism or disbelief, nor did the uncertainties as to the details of the intermediate region preclude a belief in its existence. In whatever form it came, the "memento mori" was intended as a spur to preparation of the soul, and it was Purgatory that guaranteed its eventual salvation. If its manifestations occasionally suggest a morbid overemphasis upon the physical attributes of death, these were themselves inextricably bound up with the hope of eventual Resurrection. The interrelated nature of these themes is illustrated by the decision of the choir of the parish

church of St Andrews to symbolise its principal function of celebration for the souls of the deceased in the depiction on their common seal of a human skull gnawing upon a thighbone.(15)

The monuments of Purgatory are not to be found in art and poetry. Its firm hold upon the piety of the age is convincingly proclaimed in the buildings themselves, the secular colleges, chantries and anniversaries so characteristic of the later middle ages.

As an expression of mediaeval piety the chantry chapel reached its apogee in popularity in the last years of the fifteenth century. Royalty, nobility, ecclesiastics and burgesses all endowed altars and anniversaries for the weal of their souls in the next world. The chantry and its associated institutions were long neglected by the historian, and the extent of their influence underestimated. The abolition of the English chantries in 1547 lacked the impact of the earlier suppression of monastic orders. As an eye-witness Knox recorded the popular whirlwind of iconoclasm which swept both away in Scotland in 1559-60, but the great events of the time have tended to overshadow the localised impact of the chantry's demise. This neglect may be attributed partially to the commonplace nature of the institution. For the very reason that the chantry and anniversary were closer to the daily life of the populace, their demise, although politically less remarkable than the rejection of Roman authority and less memorable than the dissolution of the regular orders, was of more immediate effect.

The parish church of St Nicholas formed a focus, both spiritual and physical, in the life of the inhabitants of the mediaeval burgh of Aberdeen. Said to have been the longest parish church in Scotland intact at the Reformation, it was by far the largest building in the town, and its steeple would have been an omnipresent feature of the skyline. Richly endowed in both ornament and structure it was an open declaration of the wealth and pride of the town's merchants and craftsmen, and of their investment in the afterlife. As the parish church its surrounding cemetery was the principal burial place of the town. Within the choir of the church the curate and a body of



chaplains and boy choristers maintained the daily cycle of the canonical hours, and celebrated private masses and anniversaries at the numerous side altars and chantries.

The substantial body of chaplains attendant upon chantry altars facilitated the emergence of choral colleges within the larger secular churches. A corporation of choristers existed in St Nicholas' by the mid-fifteenth century, although the first use of the term "collegium" dates only from the 1480s. By 1256 the church had been appropriated to the sixth, or bishop's prebend of the cathedral. Although in 1345 a perpetual vicarage was founded upon revenues of 10 merks, this was diverted in 1427 to Bishop Lichon's foundation of two chaplainries in St Machar's. The fate of the vicarage underlines the relative decline in the importance of parochial cure and the phenomenal growth in the later middle ages of the votive and requiem mass. It is indicative of the importance of intercession that although the resident parish priest held no greater title than curate, as with St Giles' of Edinburgh, the burgh kirk of St Nicholas' was about to enter its greatest period of expansion, and that when, ultimately, in 1540 a resident priest of St Nicholas' regained the use of the vicarage teinds, this was not to facilitate the improvement of parish cure, but to sustain the chief dignity of a secular college.(16)

The demands of the choir, and proliferation of side altars within the greater kirks, cathedral, convent and burgh, profoundly influenced ecclesiastical architecture. In the two centuries prior to 1560 each of the major burghs of Scotland undertook reconstruction of its parish church. In a number of cases this was necessitated by acts of God or of man. St Giles' of Edinburgh was rebuilt in the fourteenth century, probably as a consequence of damage inflicted by an English raid. St Michael's of Linlithgow was damaged by fire in the early fifteenth century. Destruction was not the sole motivation. The council of St Andrews removed the parish church from its original restricted site within the cathedral precinct to a new location in the heart of the town. Whatever the occasion for

the reconstruction or expansion of the parish church, each council seized the opportunity to enlarge its accommodation to fulfil the demands of later mediaeval ritual and practice.(17)

The physical structure of the mediaeval parish church of Aberdeen has suffered greatly since the mid-eighteenth century, and does not compare in completeness with Haddington, Linlithgow, or Stirling, yet sufficient remains in situ and in record to reconstruct the successive programmes of expansion which it underwent between the mid-fourteenth and sixteenth centuries to accommodate the choir and altars. By 1560 at least thirty altars had been built within St Nicholas', at which over fifty chantries had been endowed.

The intention of this thesis is an examination of one burgh kirk, St Nicholas' of Aberdeen, the chaplains and choristers who served within it between the mid-fifteenth century and the Reformation, and their place in the community of the burgh. St Nicholas' did not exist in a vacuum and the personal activities of the chaplains and choristers outwith its walls as notaries, proctors, traders, and landlords are revealing as to the condition of the later mediaeval church.

In a society in which advancement was dependent upon patronage, qualifications of talent and blood could both be deciding factors. Regulations set out by the founders of chantries frequently stipulate that the preferred candidate was to be a kinsman, or of local origin, as long as otherwise qualified. In most towns the council was patron to a number of altars, and was responsible for the employment of the choristers of the church. It too, commonly, expressed a local particularism. Documentation of mediaeval Scottish education is poor. Monastic houses and collegiate houses frequently supported a school intended to train their own staff. Away from such centres the provision of rural education is a matter of some contention, and may have relied upon a less formal tuition by example, a prospective cleric learning by experience as an acolyte, before being sent to the nearest burgh or major church possessed of a school. Only with fifteenth and sixteenth century burgh records is there anything more than scattered details. Aberdeen is particularly fortunate, and the careers of a number of boy-choristers can be followed through the

sang and grammar schools to their eventual entry into orders. The spread of universities in this period rendered higher education more accessible, and a high proportion of the chaplains of St Nicholas' took advantage of this, attending both the native foundations of the fifteenth century and the schools of the Continent.

The relative wealth of Aberdonian record permits an examination of chantry foundations and the degree to which, in practice, their conditions were observed. A grant of 1490 illustrates a number of recurrent themes in the relationship of kirk and burgh, the patronage of altars and the maintenance of qualified staff in the choir. On 17 August 1490 the alderman, baillies and council of Aberdeen granted the patronage of the town's altarage of St Ninian to William Meldrum of Fyvie and his heirs male, in return for his augmentation of its old rental with an additional five merks of the lands of Ardfork and Watterton, and from property in Aberdeen. On the demise of sir Robert Leis, who at that time served the chaplainry by the town's donation, Meldrum and his heirs were to have full power to present "ane sufficient cheplain that be ane sangaster and chorist convenient for the upholdin of divine service in the queir of Abirdene, quhilk sal mak continuale residence ande service in the samyn". Should Meldrum or his heirs fail to present a suitable chorister to a vacancy within forty days the right of presentation was to revert to the council for that turn.(18)

The key primary source for a study of St Nicholas' is the Chaplains' Register, the manuscript of which is now in the possession of the Town Council of Aberdeen. It has sustained some damage, in that portions of the manuscript have been gnawed by rats, or by "more responsible vandals". A number of passages have been rendered illegible by the after effects of an application of a compound intended to render faded writing temporarily legible. The Cartulary was published by the New Spalding Club in two volumes, the first a transcription, and the second a translation with several valuable appendices containing relevant documents drawn from other sources. It is unfortunate that the translation contains a number of errors, one of which has greatly confused the history of the structural development of the building, and so requires comparison with the

transcription. The first entries of the initial quire point to an attempted collation for historical or political purposes by a scribe of nationalistic intent. These entries, chapters fourteen and fifteen of Fordun's Chronicle, relate the anachronistic tale of Caesar's despatch of an embassy to northern Britain to demand the submission of the Scots and Pictish kings north of the Scottish Sea, and their defiant response. Following this is a copy of Edward III's renunciation of all claim to superiority over the Kingdom of Scotland. Whatever the intention of the writer, these documents reflect the atmosphere of academic achievement in the Aberdeen of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, fostered by William Elphinstone and his protégé and biographer, Hector Boece. Elphinstone's Aberdeen Breviary owes much to this nationalistic sentiment, and the bishop is said to have been engaged in the collection of materials for a history of the Scottish nation, a task later executed by Boece. The close contacts between the ecclesiastics of Old and New Aberdeen may point to this being an associated labour. Frequently both bishop and burgh shared the services of the same clerks. Mr David and Mr Robert Mackison both served as clerks of the consistory court, and later held the altar of the Holy Blood in St Nicholas'. Another altarist, sir Andrew Scherar, acted as Chamberlain of Aberdeen under Bishop Dunbar. The last entry in the volume is a curious catalogue of kings, actual, historical, legendary, mythical and many purely fanciful.

The main text of the volume comprises charters of endowment of chaplainries and anniversaries in the church of St Nicholas, rentals, and collections of statutes by the chapter. It also contains a number of endowments of St Thomas' hospital and King's College. The Cartulary includes a rental of the possessions of the altar of St John Evangelist, founded in 1277, the earliest documented side altar in the church. In an appendix to this the scribe has written "Let it be noted that no charter is held concerning its foundation, because after the foundation the burgh of Aberdeen was in the hands of the English".(19) Scotland and the Netherlands were close trading partners. Among a miscellany of documents copied into the Cartulary is a fragmentary note of privileges granted to the merchants of Scotland by the Counts of Flanders.

Other ecclesiastical records relevant to the burgh are sparse. The *Registrum Episcopatus* is a compilation of numerous cartularies, rentals, obituaries, and constitutions of which the cathedral church of St Machar is the primary concern. However, a number of documents and references deal with the parish church of St Nicholas, its staff and chantries. In common with virtually every diocese of Scotland no register of the consistory court now exists, although references to a number of cases survive scattered throughout the Burgh Court and Sasine Registers.

The principal secular source of documentation is the Burgh Court Register of Aberdeen, of which volumes I-XXIV cover the period from 1398 to the Reformation. The registers contain a wide range of matters relevant to the parish church and its staff, and to the other ecclesiastical foundations of the burgh, processes for unpaid rents by altarists and collectors of the choir, council statutes on the conduct of its hired chaplains, contracts with singers, gifts of burgh altars, and the construction and maintenance of its fabric. The church of St Nicholas of the period 1490 to 1510 is peculiarly well documented, probably reflecting the pride of the council in its rebuilt choir, and the delight felt in its endowment and ornament. Only the first register has been published in extenso. For the subsequent period there are two major collections of extracts relevant to the pre-Reformation history of St Nicholas', the appendix to Cooper's edition of the Cartulary, and Stuart's volume for the Spalding Club covering 1398-1570. This last contains much valuable information, yet is sadly flawed by a confusion over dates which has resulted in the attribution of entries between January 1 and March 24 to the previous year.

From 2 June 1484 there survives a series of volumes entitled the Burgh Register of Sasines. These are in fact the minute books kept by the notary serving as scribe of the burgh court, and as such are a record of his personal business as a notary rather than solely a register of burghal transactions. As the title implies, the great mass of entries deal with matters of conveyancing, and, as such, is an invaluable genealogical source. However, as is the nature of mediaeval record, a miscellany of other matters both legal and

personal has been noted down. The volumes III and IV are particularly eccentric and contain recipes for medicines and ink, and numerous poems, some anonymous, but also the earliest known manuscripts of compositions by William Dunbar. Although these volumes are anonymous, it is clear from their content that they were compiled by sir John Stirling and his cousin and deputy, sir David Liell. The register often duplicates or expands upon business transacted in the burgh court. Numerous presentations and inductions to services, both burghal and private, are recorded.

Though the Burgh Court and Sasine Registers are unusually complete, Aberdeen has lost all but a few of the annual accounts of the Dean of Gild and Master of Kirk and Bridge Work for the pre-Reformation period. Only those for the years 1452-3 and 1548-9 to 1551-2 survive in the care of the Council of Aberdeen, and that for the year 1470 at Gordonstoun.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CHANTRY CHAPEL IN SCOTLAND



By the late thirteenth century the monasticism which had represented the ideal of European piety was stagnating. Scotland followed this trend. Founded in 1273 the abbey of Sweetheart was the last of the series of great abbeys which had commenced in the late eleventh century with the building of Dunfermline. The relatively stable economic conditions which had given rise to these houses were swept away by the turmoil that ensued from the death of Alexander III in 1286. No new foundation was undertaken for more than a century until James I established the austere Carthusians outside the burgh of Perth in an attempt to restore something of the original ideals of the monastic movement. There was no attempt to emulate this, and the subsequent period saw decline, retrenchment and rationalisation. Fallen from its pristine state the cloistered life failed to inspire either the recruitment or endowment of its early pioneering spirit. A number of smaller houses and those unable to maintain a viable community were amalgamated. In March 1453/54 the prior of the Benedictine house of Urquhart reported that his house sheltered only two monks, the Valliscaulian priory of Pluscarden only six. The Pope consented to the separation of Pluscarden from its mother house and unification of the two communities under its roof.(1)

In combination with this decline and instability the prohibitively great capital investment demanded by the endowment of such large scale corporations encouraged popular piety to seek out alternative forms of expression. Even in the first half of the thirteenth century the newly arrived mendicant orders had succeeded in attracting endowments, and between 1230 and 1289 seventeen friaries were founded in Scots burghs. Winning the respect accorded to the monasteries in their early years, the mendicants were conspicuously active among lay society as preachers. Despite this success they avoided something of the wealth and material responsibilities accumulated by the monastic orders. This popular respect survived the fourteenth century, and between 1440 and 1525 a further fourteen friaries were built in the burghs. Significantly the principal beneficiary of this endowment was the newly arrived and yet stricter order of Observantine Franciscans.(2)



The chronic economic dislocation of the fourteenth century could not suppress pious endowment. Though no innovation, the chantry chapel proved one of the most notable expressions of this need, and in the regenerating wealth of the burghs it found the most fertile soil. The earliest known chantries in Scotland date from the mid-twelfth century. About 1153 Thomas London granted the parish church of Lessuden to the monks of Dryburgh. In return for this gift the parson of the church was obliged to erect an altar in honour of St Margaret on the south side of the church, and to have a mass sung every week for the souls of King David, his wife Margaret and all the faithful dead. Between 1153 and 1165 Walter the Steward endowment of the abbey of Melrose with four carucates of Edmundiston was made conditional upon the monks' construction of an altar within their church and the appointment of three priests to celebrate mass there for the King. A second endowment of Melrose, by William de Hunum, called upon the monks to maintain a chaplain in a chapel which he had built upon the lands of Raeshaw.(3) As over much of Europe, it was not until the later thirteenth century that foundations became numerous. The earliest documentation of chantries in the parish church of Aberdeen dates from the last quarter of the century. At Candlemas 1277/78 the burgess, Richard Cementarius, endowed a chantry at the altar of St John Evangelist.(4) An undated charter of c.1290 records William de Malewyle's endowment of the Trinitarian friars of Aberdeen, for which they were to sustain lights before the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Rood in the parish church, and to find a secular chaplain to serve at the high altar of St Nicholas.(5) The period 1340-1362 saw a surge of donations to the church fabric and in endowment of chantries. In 1340 William de Strabrok founded the altar of St James, and in 1356 William de Leith of Barns extended the twelfth century south transept to accommodate the altar of SS Lawrence and Ninian. The subsequent four years saw the foundation of the altars of the Brown Cross in the nave, St Duthac, and Chalmer of Findon's altar of St Katherine. At this last, in the following seventy years, his kin were to establish another two chaplainries. Though their date of foundation is unknown the altars of St Leonard and of St Anne are also first recorded in this period.(6)

Foundation of chantries continued to the Reformation, but reached its apogee at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Of a list of some 1037 chantries founded throughout Scotland the foundation dates of 258 are known.(7) The compilation of this, it must be emphasised, is only at an interim stage, and it does not pretend to be a complete listing of chantries in Scotland. Although it would be dangerous to place too much weight on these figures, periods of foundation appear to mimic those of relative political stability. The spasmodic growth of the thirteenth century was interrupted in the subsequent half century, perhaps reflecting the instability of the period. The late 1320s saw a number of foundations, but this was followed by a further decline in the 1330s and 1340s. Only with the 1420s was there a marked revival. Thereafter, alternating periods of decline and of foundation may perhaps be related to the successive regencies and personal reigns of James I's successors. It must be emphasised that it is only after 1450 that any substantial data exists.

Foundations of chantries within the parish church of St Nicholas remained sporadic until the second half of the fifteenth century. Thereafter the rate of foundation rose steadily, reaching its peak at the turn of the century. By 1520 there were over fifty services at some thirty altars. The majority were founded by burgesses of the town. Of the leading families all but one founded, or came to inherit, the patronage of a chantry within the parish church. The exception were the Kintores, and these were alleged in 1486 to have had a claim to the altar of St John Evangelist.(8) Two of the major landed families of the shire founded services. The Forbeses maintained the chantry of St Anne as early as 1358, and between 1425 and 1438 Elizabeth Gordon endowed a service at the altar of St Leonard.(9) Ecclesiastics endowed a number of altars. Mr John Clatt, a canon of Aberdeen, founded a service of St Michael prior to 1457 when he assigned its patronage to the council, as did Mr John Livingstone, vicar of Inverugie, that of his chantry of St Peter. In 1502 the council granted licence to Mr Walter Leslie, vicar of Menmuir, to erect an altar in the newly built apse.(10)

To some extent the spiral of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries may be exaggerated by the increased survival rate of documentation, and the low figures prior to 1400 to a corresponding paucity. Foundations reached their peak in the 1490s and 1500s, and this, at least, appears to be true reflection of a period marked by an increased confidence and stability. This, however, was shortlived, and James IV's death and the subsequent troubled years saw a further slump. A revival in the 1520s was followed by a marked decline which persisted to 1560. Intended as a guarantee of future spiritual welfare, the substantial worldly investment demanded by the chantry chapel was, nevertheless, vulnerable to periods of instability. Civil strife, exacerbated by the English depredations and the insidious Lutheran influence may all have played their part in this final decline, the last undermining the doctrines upon which intercession was based and leading potential founders to question the efficacy of the mass. The possibility that the fashion of chantry foundation may have begun to wane of its own accord is difficult to evaluate. All apparent trends must, however, be qualified by regional variations.(11) In partial contrast to Aberdeen, there appear to have been two major periods of foundation in the parish church of Holy Trinity of St Andrews, the first in the 1430s, the second, and major period, between 1490 and 1510. A high proportion of founders were churchmen.(12)

In England and Wales Camden reckoned a total of 2374 chantries and chapels, 90 colleges, and 110 hospitals, figures which Dickens felt probably not far wide of the mark. Kreider, however, indicates that the number of chantries is much underestimated, and in the four counties that he studied in detail, he found the traces of 861 intercessory foundations capable of supporting at least one priest, and in a cursory total of intercessory institutions of twenty counties representing just over half the parishes of England and Wales, he identified 2182 institutions capable of supporting at least one priest.(13)

The fragmentary nature of the evidence is a major stumbling block in the compilation of a list of chantry foundations in Scotland. The history of only a small proportion of the hundreds of known altarages

may be followed with any continuity. Mr Walter Leslie's grant of licence from the burgh council is the sole reference to his service, and there is no indication that the foundation was completed. In 1563 Mr Edward Chalmer appeared in a head court of Aberdeen in pursuit of rents owed to the altar of St Margaret in St Nicholas', an otherwise unknown altar.(14) Whereas, in England, episcopal registers kept a careful record of chantry certificates, there is no comparable record surviving in Scotland. In the late fourteenth century the High Chamberlain was charged to enquire "gif thar be ony that has gevin thar landis or thar rentis in the handis of religiouse men or kirkmen withoutyn leff of the king".(15) As chantry endowments commonly required the chaplain to continue payment of burgh mails these were exempt from the necessity of such royal confirmation. Of the 1037 chantries only some 50% appear in the registers of the Great and Privy Seals, and of these a high proportion are merely casual references and not confirmations. The hiatus between endowment and registration clearly illustrates the voluntary nature of confirmation. In both Scotland and England the revenues of the Church were subjected to surveys at the Reformation. In terms of chantry endowments the commissioners of the Valor Ecclesiasticus were far from comprehensive. In Scotland the Assumptions and returns of the Thirds of Benefices are similarly far from complete, listing only a fraction of the total of known services.(16)

The ecclesiastical cartularies are of little more assistance, and often refer only to services of which the presentation was vested in the hands of the church corporation. That the paucity of cartulary record of chantries in religious houses need not reflect an actual low number of endowments is demonstrated in a contemporary account of two Tironensian abbeys. In 1517 there were said to be some twelve or thirteen side altars in the convent kirk of Kelso at which several masses were said daily, both by the monks and by secular chaplains. Record of only two of these altars has survived elsewhere. The abbey of Arbroath was also stated to contain twelve side altars, of which only seven are otherwise known.(17) Ferrerius recorded the existence of eleven altars in the Cistercian abbey of Kinloss.(18) These are all fairly well documented houses, but that the total

number of chantries that existed within their walls is known is due only to the fortunate survival of contemporary narratives. Few other houses are so well favoured.

If the chantry records of even the great churches are far from complete, those of rural areas are at best sparse, at worst non-existent. In the diocese of Aberdeen, of some hundred parishes and an uncertain number of chapels, over one hundred chantries are documented, yet of these over seventy were in the two parishes of St Nicholas' and St Machar's. In the rest of the diocese the church of Cullen and the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Garioch each held six services.(19) Only a handful of chantries are known in rural parish churches. Chapels and chantries frequently survive only in passing reference to a dedication or property, its benefactor and date of foundation unknown. Post-Reformation sources are rich in reference, but vague in detail. Keith's "The View of the Diocese" (1732) is particularly valuable, listing the chapels which existed in each parish of the diocese of Aberdeen. However, it makes no attempt to differentiate between Celtic, mediaeval and non-conformist chapels.(20) The distinction between a chapel founded as a chantry and that founded as a parochial chapel further clouds the picture. Cook notes that in England cases occur of chantry chapels being founded by gentry but actually intended to serve as a chapels of ease. In this way the landowner could avoid the legal complications of the subdivision of the teinds of the parish to support pastoral service.(21)

Architectural evidence is frequently the only indication of an undocumented service. The nave aisles of Cambuskenneth and Melrose made provision for numerous chantries, at the latter equipped with elaborately carved piscinae, yet of these services virtually nothing is known. At the other extreme of the ecclesiastical spectrum, this physical evidence is all that indicates the existence of a chantry in many a rural church. Of the mediaeval parish church of Edzell all that survives is the much reworked south aisle, a former chantry chapel, in which is preserved an ogee headed piscina. Even a number of the simplest, aisleless parish churches contained side altars. Lower down the Angus North Esk at Logie-Montrose the now roofless

church contains two piscinae in its south wall, one to serve the parish altar, the other inserted to the west of a lancet window which would have served to light the associated altar and a possible rood screen.

Documentation for certain dioceses varies in quantity, those of the west and northern limits of the kingdom comparing poorly with the east coast and midland valley. The compilation of 1037 documented chantries gave the following distribution.

<u>DIOCESE</u>	<u>CHANTRY FOUNDATIONS</u>
Aberdeen	106
Argyll	4
Brechin	61
Caithness	3
Dunkeld	39
Dunblane	13
Galloway	4
Glasgow	220
Isles	1
Moray	61
Orkney	16
Ross	28
St Andrews	481

Although the two largest dioceses, St Andrews and Glasgow, both contained some two hundred parishes, settlement was concentrated on the eastern seaboard of the country, and it was on this coast and its hinterland that the largest burghs were sited. It was these prosperous trading towns that produced the surplus wealth necessary for the considerable investment involved in a chantry foundation. Against this, the disproportionately high survival rate of record for the burghs may give distorted results. The parish churches of the

seven eastern towns of Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, St Andrews, Linlithgow, Edinburgh and Haddington alone account for over a quarter of the thousand chantries mentioned above.(22)

The chantry was manifest in three major forms. In Scotland the terms of chaplainry, altarage and service were commonly used with little distinction and applied loosely to all three of which the earliest was the simple endowment of an existing parish priest or religious corporation in return for their maintenance of a chaplain to celebrate for the weal of the founder. By such an arrangement the founder abdicated any control over the service. In 1251 Alan Durward granted an annual rent of five merks to be paid to the vicar of Logie-Durno who was to maintain the chapel of St Mary and its chaplain in all things, and to find all necessary furnishings.(23) This arrangement was largely superseded by a form in which the founder and his assigned heirs retained the right of presentation to the service and its revenues. Presentation was subject to the approval of the bishop who held the right of collation to the chaplainry, as to other ecclesiastical benefices within his diocese. In March 1340/41 William de Strabrock, burgess of Aberdeen, endowed a chantry at the altar of St James in the parish church of Aberdeen, reserving the right to present a suitable chaplain to the bishop.(24) Although the service's endowments were protected by ecclesiastical sanction, the patron retained significant control over the discipline of his chaplain. Less common was a chaplainry wholly at the disposition of the patron, without reference to ecclesiastical authority for collation. Finlay Park, a burgess of Irvine, endowed a chantry in honour of St Peter in the parish church of Irvine. On his demise the gift of the service was to pass to the baillies and community of the burgh. "I will that neither the Bishop nor any ecclesiastic shall have any power to give or confer the said chaplainry, but that the gift of it shall pertain only to the baillies and community of the said burgh of Irvine as long as they will institute."(25)

Burgh council registers portray the award of a chaplainry as a simple gift, with no reference to external authority. In a number of cases this may have been so, as in the gift of the burgh's chaplainry of St

Peter to sir William Coupar in 1529.(26) Donation and possession of an altar on the same day points to a simple gift. Mr Andrew Craufurd received both to this same chantry of St Peter on 11 September 1498, and sir John Fife to the town's service of the Holy Rood on 25 October 1512.(27) The altar of St John Evangelist seems to have been another such, the younger John Stirling's agents receiving both donation and possession on 15 December 1508.(28) On 11 August 1522 the council granted this altar to Mr David Nicholson and commanded that he be given possession thereof, the implication being that no intervening stage was required.(29)

Presentation to the ordinary for collation was probably more common than the imperfect nature of most record would suggest. This is highlighted by Aberdeen's relatively better preserved documentation. As minutes of council proceedings the council register tended to record only the grant of a chaplainry. Institution, and in particular collation, were matters not requiring a further formal council meeting, but only a witnessed notarial record in the parallel series of the sasine registers. The wider scope of these volumes preserves a number of transactions relating to chantries outwith burgh control. Used together the two series document the council's grant of the chaplainry of St John Baptist to Mr Gavin Leslie on 25 September 1508, and his institution following collation on 6 October.(30) Records of collations to burgh chaplainries exist for the altars of the Blessed Virgin Mary (1484), St Michael (1467, 1471), St John Baptist (1508), SS Lawrence and Ninian (1510/11, 1518, 1520/21), and the hospital of St Thomas (1508).(31) St Mary Magdalen (1492, 1501/2, 1504/5, 1518, 1563), St Stephen (1490), St Anne (1458), and SS Thomas and George (1560) were other chaplainries for which survive record of collation.(32) More than two weeks separated the Cordiner craft's donation to sir John Litstar of SS Crispin and Crispinian and his actual possession, probably as a consequence of an unrecorded intervening collation.(33) Any pattern is, however, complicated by anomalies. On 4 March 1504/5 the town's chaplainry of Our Lady was given to Mr Thomas Chalmer who, according to a separate record, was given possession on the same day.(34) His



predecessor, Mr Alexander Fife, on the other hand, who had received a promise of the altar before 21 February 1482/83, was presented for collation on 10 December 1484.(35)

The charter of foundation commonly listed those for whom intercession was sought, typically the founder and spouse, ancestors, successors, various benefactors and kinsmen, and the faithful dead. Intercession was frequently to be made for the ruling and departed monarchs, and where royal confirmation of the mortification was sought, this was appended as a condition. Within the standard framework of the charter of endowment there was some scope for variation in detail. A foundation typical of the majority and embodying many of the conditions encountered was that of Henry de Leith of Barns, who in May 1440 gave rents of ten merks to sustain a chaplain before the image of Our Lady at SS Lawrence and Ninian's altar in the parish church of Aberdeen. Should he or his heirs fail to present to a vacancy within forty days, this right was to pass for that turn to the provost and community of Aberdeen. In the event of extinction of male heirs the right was to devolve permanently upon the council. The chaplain was held to be present at all canonical hours usually observed within the church, and in the event of his obtaining promotion to another benefice, the service might be declared void, and at the patron's free disposal. A year later Leith added an additional two merks to the rental, and empowered the chaplain, sir William Chalmer, to substitute a fit deputy to serve his chaplainry as often as he should have need. In the event of failure to raise these two merks from the stipulated sources, they were to be levied from other of the patron's crofts or rents in the town.(36)

The material endowments and ornaments of a chantry could be both numerous and lavish. According to an inventory of Our Lady in the south transept of St Nicholas', the altar possessed a silver gilt chalice, a parchment missal, vestments of three chasubles, two tunicles, a cope, two albs and two amices, two towels, two antependiums mounted upon boards, one of silk, another of arras, two frontals, one of arras and the other of black worsted, a third, red worsted frontal, and two linen vestments for Lent. The altar was

illuminated by an hearse. These gifts, whose donors were unknown, were stored in two locked iron-bound chests. Mr Thomas Chalmer, who served the altar from 1504/5, further endowed it with an antependium of silk and another of cloth of gold, a printed book, three more albs, three towels, and candles. A lamp, to burn at the altar during winter, was endowed by Robert Blindsel, provost of the burgh.(37)

Altar lights were a frequent object of endowment. The lands given by Richard Cementarius to St John Evangelist in 1277/78, were granted by the council in 1294 to Malcolm of Balgownie and Duncan Mercator on condition of their supporting the chaplain at that altar and their payment of a half merk to the maintenance of lights before the Rood and the Blessed Virgin.(38) In 1498 Alexander Menzies, later alderman of Aberdeen, endowed a lamp to burn day and night before the sacrament. The rents of £3 were to be administered by the chaplain of Menzies' chantry of St Sebastian. Should the chaplain fail in this, the curate and chapter were to compel his maintenance of the light, and to be empowered to raise the moneys.(39)

An alternative to foundation of a chaplainry was the common endowment of the chaplains of the choir for the celebration of a weekly mass. In February 1520/21 Thomas Waus gave £20 and a rent of 4s 6d for the support of a mass of the Five Wounds each Thursday at his family's altar of St Martin. This was to be celebrated in turn by each of the chaplains of the college.(40) In 1527 Nicholas Baxter granted land in the Gallowgate to the curate and chaplains in return for which one was to celebrate a mass of the Five Wounds on Mondays at the altar of the Brown Cross, and each year an anniversary and trental.(41) Chaplains commonly endowed weekly masses to be celebrated at the altars which they served. The chaplain of St John Baptist and the Three Kings, sir William Philipson, endowed the choir with a property in the burgh and, while he reserved its use for life, he permitted the chaplains to draw an annual rent of 10s. For the remainder of his life the college was to celebrate an anniversary mass at the altar of the Three Kings, and to celebrate a mass of St Anne each Tuesday either there or at the high altar.(42)

A more substantial investment was that of sir William Coupar, chaplain of SS Thomas and George, who in 1538, gave rents of thirteen merks to the college for the support of a daily mass, to be known as the Third Mass, at that altar. He later further augmented this with provision for the commemoration of his anniversary, at which a further twenty shillings was to be distributed to the poor, half in coin and half in bread.(43)

Andrew Murray's foundation of 1497 at the altar of St Salvator restricted inheritance of the patronage to his nearest male heirs of the name of Murray, but such terms were not universal.(44) Patronage was customarily reserved to the nearest heirs of the founder, but regardless of sex, and thus might pass out of the family or result in the division of patronage. In February 1552/53 the advocacy of the chantries founded by the late William and Henry Leith was confirmed to George Seton of Fyvie "*alternis vicibus*".(45) The gift of Matthew Fechat's service of St Michael passed first to David Colison, the husband of his daughter Agnes. By 1547 patronage was split between an unknown number of heirs, one of whom, Margaret Colison, was caused by her husband to resign it in favour of William Roland.(46) A provision by Thomas Blindsel in his augmentation of his original endowment of St Peter's altar made allowance for heirs by both of his marriages. On his death the gift was to pass for one turn to his elder son, Alexander, then to his second son, William, and so to their heirs alternately.(47)

In the interests of the survival of the chantry and lest neglect or extinction of legitimate heirs threaten the continuity of its incumbent's acts of intercession, provision was commonly made that, on the extinction of the founder's heirs, presentation should pass to a corporation or dignitary. For the burgess the natural patron in his default was the community of the burgh, or else the bishop and chapter. By the mid-fifteenth century three of the four oldest altars in the church of St Nicholas had passed into the gift of the council - those of Our Lady, the Rood and St John Evangelist. By William de Meldrum of Auchnecove's foundation at the altar of SS Lawrence and Ninian the endowment of eight merks was given to the

alderman, the four baillies and the master of the kirk work, "for the procuring of a chaplain . . so that neither he nor his heirs may alienate them from the altar".(48)

Such outright gifts were not common, and reversion of patronage to the burgh was more frequently restricted to cases of extinction or default. Richard Rutherford's endowment of St Andrew's altar in 1450/51 named his spouse and thereafter his cousin Andrew and his heirs as successors to his right of patronage. Should they fail to present within two months of a vacancy, the right for that turn would pass to the burgh.(49) In 1490 the alderman and baillies granted Meldrum of Auchnecve's chantry, then in the town's gift, to William Meldrum of Fyvie and his heirs in return for his augmentation of the rental. The council, nevertheless, retained the right to present to a vacancy should he or his heirs fail to do so.(50) Thomas Chalmer of Murthill's 1437/38 endowment of St Katherine's altar called for presentation within twenty-one days by himself or his heirs, after which period the provost and privy council of the burgh should have full power for that turn.(51) Similar provisions are of common occurrence in the burghs of Scotland. The Ravelstone service at the altar of the Virgin in St Giles', Edinburgh, was founded prior to 1363 by William More of Abercorn. By 1414 the presentation pertained to the alderman and community of Edinburgh with the advice of the archdeacon of Lothian.(52) Where an outright grant was not made the burgh council might yet receive a degree of responsibility. Alan de Myrton, burgess of Perth, who founded an altar dedicated to the Virgin in 1431/32, reserved the patronage to himself and his heirs. His candidate, however, was to win the approval of the burgh council which was further empowered to remove a delinquent chaplain should the patron fail so to do.(53) Even where a chantry was to be served by regular clergy, external corporations might be required to serve as overseers. In 1487 William Stewart, the prebendary of Killearn, endowed a chantry to be served by the friars at the high altar of the Dominican church of Glasgow, and appointed the rectors and regents of the University and the councillors of Glasgow conservators of the service.(54)

Such grants to corporate patrons might, however, be qualified. In 1458 Patrick Leech, chancellor of Glasgow, founded a service in honour of St Manchan in Glasgow Cathedral. Although on his death the gift was to pass to the burgh, preference was to be given to the founder's kin if any were found worthy.(55)

A range of officers or corporations could guarantee the necessary continuity. Sir Robert Batho, chaplain of St Mary in the parish church of Falkirk, in 1530/31 endowed an altar in honour of St Michael in the chapel which he had built on the north side of the church, and nominated as patrons on his demise the Lyon King of Arms and two of the principal heralds for the time.(56) The Crown was an occasional beneficiary of foundations. William Marschall's 1406 endowment of the altar of St Michael in the parish church of Inverkeithing made provision for its reversion on his death to the gift of the King and his heirs.(57)

Ecclesiastical corporations or dignitaries were beneficiaries of many grants of reversion or of supervision. The chapter of Elgin was to have power of correction over Thomas Randolph, the earl of Moray's five chaplainries of St Thomas Martyr in the Cathedral cemetery.(58) In 1480 Bishop Thomas of Dunkeld founded the altar of SS Martin and Thomas in St Giles' of Edinburgh. The right of presentation was to pass to his successors in the bishopric.(59) That of two chaplainries founded in Elgin in 1529 by Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, was to pass on his death to the dean of Moray.(60) In default of male heirs the chaplainry of Fola founded within the cathedral of St Machar's by Adam Pingle, a burgess of Aberdeen, was to be at the disposition of the dean and chapter.(61)

In Aberdeen the church was less frequently a beneficiary of provision for the default of patronage than the town council. Only two chantries in St Nicholas' made provision for presentation in default by ecclesiastical bodies. By David Simson's 1489 foundation at the altar of St Leonard presentation for collation was reserved to the heirs of the founder, but in the event of their failing to fill a vacancy within forty days, the gift for that turn was to fall to the Bishop. In the event of the extinction of Simson's heirs, the gift

was to be inherited by the Bishop.(62) The chaplainry of St Leonard in fact remained with the founder's family, but a number did pass to the Bishop. A rental of 1511 lists a chaplainry of St Stephen in St Nicholas' as being at the Bishop's disposal.(63) A second chantry of St Nicholas, founded by Mr Alexander Cullen, the rector of Oyne, was in the gift of the bishop by 1519.(64) The Alanson service of the Magdalen passed first to the Bishop, and thereafter to King's College as a bursary in Civil Law.(65) Of the four religious houses situated within the burgh, the Trinitarians alone had patronage of an altar within the parish church. Walter de Malewyle founded his chantry of St Nicholas upon a rent granted to the minister and convent about 1294, for which they were obliged to find a secular chaplain to celebrate at the high altar. Evidently collation to the service pertained to the Bishop.(66) Chantries may have been numerous within the chapels of the respective convents. By David II's grant of 1362/63 to the Dominicans of Aberdeen the friars were endowed with five pounds of the barony of Banchory Devenick for the sustentation of a chaplain to serve in perpetuity at the altar of St Michael in the convent church. An altar of St Katherine is also referred to in 1529.(67)

Though no presentations to chantries in the parish church of Aberdeen are explicitly stated to have been made in default of the rightful patron, this may explain a number of anomalous gifts by the council of altars not otherwise known to have been at its disposal, such as the grant of the altar of St Ninian in November 1505.(68) There are frequent examples of patrons defending their rights with some jealousy.(69) A number of cases bear out prompt supply to vacant chaplainries. Sir John Stirling, chaplain of the town's altar of St John Evangelist, last appears alive on 20 July 1522, on which day he appointed his executors. On 11 August Mr David Nicholson was given institution of the altar and its endowments.(70) Sir William Coupar, chaplain of the town's service of St Peter, died on 23 April 1539, and was succeeded five days later by Mr James Menzies.(71) Mr William Strachan, chaplain of St John Baptist, composed his testament on 21 September 1508, and on 25 September was succeeded at the altar, said to be vacant by his death, by Mr Gavin Leslie.(72)

The period of time allowed to present to a vacancy before the right should default for that turn at first varied considerably. Thomas Chalmer's 1437/38 chantry of St Katherine allowed twenty-one days, the 1440 Leith chantry of Our Lady, forty days. Mr John Clatt's grant of patronage of St Michael to the burgh in 1457 allowed twenty days, and his fellow ecclesiastic Mr Martin Waus's altar of St Martin, thirty days.(73) Finlay Park's foundation in the parish kirk of Irvine stipulated that the failure of the burgh to present to a vacancy within forty days would result in the right defaulting in perpetuity to the convent of Kilwinning.(74) In endowing a chantry at the altar of St Stephen in 1444/5 Stephen Balromy made the provision that if the chaplainry should become vacant during the absence of the patron abroad, then after a year and a day, the council, with the consent of the vicar, and the chaplains of the Holy Rood and of the Blessed Virgin should be entitled to dispose of it.(75) The burgh's gift of St John Baptist to John Knollis in 1486 stipulated the reversion for that turn to the council if the patron failed to present within forty days.(76) However, some degree of conformity was achieved in the last two decades of the century during which five of the six services in St Nicholas' for which details are preserved set a limit of forty days. That this is indicative of a standardisation is suggested by the inclusion in four of an additional clause which set the same time limit upon the failure of the chaplain in residence or in service at altar or in choir.(77)

Mr Thomas Chalmer was presented to the chapel of St Ninian on the Castlehill, in 1504 newly built by Robert Blinsell. In 1521 Chalmer protested that while he had been outwith the kingdom, certain persons, including Ninian Blinsell, the son of the founder, had attempted to seize possession of the chapel's property in the head of the Shiprow.(78) To counter the possibility that the patron might neglect or abuse his responsibilities to the chantry, the terms of foundation bound the founder and his heirs to maintain the payment of its endowments and observe its regulations under the threat of ecclesiastical sanctions. Knollis' augmentation of the service of St John Baptist in 1486 contained the standard clause by which,

should his heirs attempt to deprive the chaplainry of its endowments, the Bishop of Aberdeen should defend its rights and compel their obedience.(79)

Foundations varied as to the form of service to be undertaken. Endowed in 1520, John Arthur's chantry of the Name of Jesus stipulated daily service at the altar, yet left the precise time at the discretion of the chaplain.(80) Service in the general canonical hours of the choir was a common condition. Arthur's chaplain was to serve in the choir on Sundays and other festivals, yet Matthew Fechat's 1472 foundation at the altar of St Michael called for daily celebration of mass at the altar as well as daily service in the choir at the hours.(81) By Knollis' augmentation of St John Baptist the chaplain was bound to perpetual service. If personally or by substitute he failed to perform his duties for a period of forty days without licence or reason of illness, the service was to be regarded as vacant, and thus at the disposition of the patron. This was repeated in other fifteenth century endowments.(82) John de Hay of Tulybothvyle's endowment of an altarage in the chapel of the Virgin at Kincraig prohibited the holder making service elsewhere without licence.(83) That of Mr George Stirling of Braikie at the altar of the Virgin in the parish church of Kinnell demanded residence, and prohibited the appointment of a priest already holding a benefice or serving a curacy.(84)

For both altarists and prebendaries of collegiate churches continual and personal residence was a universal regulation. In 1481 the town's altar of St Ninian in Aberdeen had been held for several years by sir Patrick Tulloch. The council was dissatisfied with his service and on 13 June made a provisional grant of the chaplainry to sir Robert Leis "if it be found vacant".(85) Leis was in receipt of offerings to the altar in October of that year, but "had not his evidents . . . to show his rights of the altar", probably as they were withheld by his predecessor.(86) Tulloch maintained his claim to the service until June of the following year when the council granted it to Leis for life "in fault of service and personal residence of sir Patrick Tulloch".(87) On 3 January 1449/50 the provost and council of St Andrews presented Mr John Lyon to the bishop of St



Andrews for collation to a chaplainry of St Michael in the parish church, said to have fallen vacant by the non-residence of the previous chaplain, Mr Thomas de Carmychell.(88) In 1491 Thomas Prat demanded that his chaplain was to make personal residence within the burgh of Aberdeen, and to hold no benefice, chaplainry or service outwith the parish church. If he was so promoted, the chaplainry was to be regarded as void. Failure in attendance at the canonical hours in the choir of the church would result in deprivation. None of the chaplains of the Prat service are known to have held a service outwith the parish church.(89)

Such might be the insistence of the founder upon uninterrupted service that provisional arrangements would be drawn up to deal with all contingencies. James de Douglas' foundation in 1384 of a chapel by the Castle of Dalkeith allowed for service to be held in the nearby St Nicholas' should the chapel be in need of repair. If war should obstruct the chaplain's access to the castle, his service was to be continued at the parish church of Lasswade.(90)

In practice such regulations might not be rigidly enforced, and some leeway was granted the chaplain in respect of personal residence. Henry Leith's foundation of Our Lady gave sir William Chalmer free power to substitute a fit chaplain to carry out the necessary duties as often as necessary.(91) The strictest terms of conduction prohibited the holding of another service even within the same church. This was waived in 1501/2 when Sir John Rutherford gave licence to sir Andrew Gray to retain his service of St Michael, then in the patron's hand by reason of Gray's collation to the altar of St Mary Magdalen.(92) Patrons were frequently content merely to limit a chaplain's pluralism. In 1436 the vicars of Linton and of Selkirk, William Adam and William Middlemast, founded the altar of St Michael in the parish church of Peebles. In 1444 they resigned the patronage to the burgh council. The chaplain, who was to hold the service yearly, and not for life, was to be permitted to hold other chaplainries, but only if less than the ten merks value of the stipend.(93) As restrictions upon external benefices and chaplainries was primarily intended to ensure the personal service of a priest, where he was as a native, a natural resident of the town,

possession of another benefice might not be seen as incompatible. Several chaplains of the choir of St Nicholas' served parishes in the adjoining region. Mr David Nicholson, chaplain of the Leith service of Our Lady, probably held the service until his death, along with the vicarage of nearby Maryculter.(94) In 1539 Mr James Menzies, rector of Dunottar, was presented to the town's chaplainry of St Peter. In this case he was to supply a singer to serve in the choir in his stead.(95)

Despite its successive structural expansions, multiple chantries at altars were particularly common in St Giles' of Edinburgh. When, in 1419, it was proposed to erect a provostry, thirteen perpetual chaplainries had already been founded within the church. By 1560 there were at least forty altars, to many of which were attached several chaplainries.(96) The Goldsmiths' altar alone bore five dedications. There is evidence of a similar situation in the church of St Nicholas'. In July 1470 the council of Aberdeen granted to John Fife, burgess, to his heirs and his chaplains, all those freedoms that he had held of the Magdalen altar, together with those endowments which he had purchased for it. The same rights were confirmed to Andrew Alanson, who had endowed a service at the altar in 1467/68, "and sua that eny man that giffis indowment or feftment to the saide altar sal be maysteris and patrownis of thair awin gift".(97) At the altar in the extended south transept of St Nicholas' there were no fewer than five chaplainries, two in honour of SS Lawrence and Ninian, a service in honour of Our Lady, the Drum service of St Ninian, and by 1534 Mr John Burnet's foundation. In 1481 sir Robert Leis and sir Alexander Vocat came to dispute the division of offerings to their respective chaplainries at the altar.(98) A similar disagreement regarding the division of offerings on Rood days arose between the chaplains of the two altars of the dedication, sir Andrew Anderson of the Rood in the loft, and sir Alexander Club of the Brown Cross in the nave.(99) Both disputes were resolved by the adjudication of the burgh council that, in future, the proceeds should be equally divided.

Comparison of chantry rentals is relatively unrewarding, as stated figures rarely correspond to the calculated totals of rents listed in

endowments. Where more than one copy of a rental exists totals again vary considerably, and are complicated by augmentations subsequent to the original endowment. Known rentals vary considerably in value, from the town's chaplainry of Our Lady in the south aisle of £10, to the Cordiners' service of SS Crispin and Crispinian of only £2.(100) The rents of this latter altar, drawn from crofts in Newburgh at the mouth of the Ythan would, however, have been supplemented by the weekly penny and other dues and levies imposed upon craftsmen. To some degree the differing rentals reflect the duties imposed upon chaplains, from daily to weekly service. The 1566 inventory of rentals of Holy Trinity, St Andrews, displays a similarly wide range of value.(101)

The longevity of the foundations of John Cementarius and Walter de Malewyle at the altars of St John Evangelist and St Nicholas is remarkable, and significantly both were in corporate patronage at an early date. The survival of chantries depended to a great extent upon the sufficiency of its endowment. Fixed rents were vulnerable to inflation, and new leases of property commonly demanded an augmentation.

Where a chantry had passed into the gift of the burgh, its revenues formed a valuable source for the fees of its hired choristers. The burgh council of Aberdeen does not itself appear to have augmented the revenues of an impoverished service, but by a series of grants in the second half of the fifteenth century the town relinquished patronage in return for supplementation of the rental, and the presentation by the new patron of chaplains suitable for service in the choir. Inheritance of the patronage of these chaplainries was restricted to male heirs, failing whom it should revert to the council. By the mid-fifteenth century at least three of the chantries founded in the mid-fourteenth century were at the town's disposal. Founded in 1357 by the burgess, Alexander Williamson, the Brown Cross had passed into the hands of the burgh council by 1461. Evidently its rental had suffered in the century of its existence, and the council surrendered it to Alexander Howeson and his heirs, for an augmentation of ten merks.(102)

Further grants were made of St Duthac to William Scherar in 1464, an altar "anciently founded in part by the alderman and baillies of the burgh", again for an infeftment of ten merks, St John Baptist to John Knollis in 1486, and SS Lawrence and Ninian to William Meldrum of Fyvie in 1490, both for five merks. This last may have been the final settlement of a long standing dispute. On the death of the founder, the patronage of Meldrum of Auchnecove's chantry at the altar of SS Lawrence and Ninian passed to the burgh, but this was challenged by his heir, Thomas Meldrum. Having seized its endowments and defied episcopal admonition, Meldrum was excommunicated. He died unreconciled and his heir in turn persisted in his usurpation, leading to the council of Aberdeen's appeal to the Pope. The resultant mandate evidently led to a judgment in favour of the burgh, but in 1490 fiscal necessity appears to have forced the hand of the council, which then granted the gift of the altar to Meldrum of Fyvie, when it should fall vacant by the death of its incumbent, sir Robert Leis.(103)

Not all chantries survived so long as the service of St John Evangelist. By 1500 at least three services had been endowed at the altar of St Michael, and a single reference to a fourth appears in 1558. In January 1505/6 Sir John Rutherford resigned his patronage of the altar in favour of the burgh council, in return for its discharge of his debts. On the same day sir Thomas Binny was granted possession of the town's service, vacant by the death of Mr Andrew Craufurd. Rutherford's chaplain, sir Richard Anderson, later received a pension of five merks in return for his resignation. The Rutherford service appears to have been annexed to the town's service, founded by Mr John Clatt, to produce a single, more viable chaplainry.(104)

The fortunes of other private chantries are less well documented, and the matter is further confused by multiple foundations at altars by successive generations, or branches of the same family. In such a case it might be expected that existing rents might be incorporated into the new chaplainry. The sole reference to William de Chalmer of Findoun's chaplainry at the altar of St Katherine is to its foundation in 1360.(105) In 1417 his son endowed a second

chaplainry at the altar, and in 1437/38 Thomas Chalmer of Murthill a third.(106) These last were evidently distinct services, and not augmentations of their predecessors, but it is likely that in time the several endowments were merged to support a single chaplain. A case of such rationalisation is that of the service of St Gregory in the parish church of Dumfries, founded in 1508 by Mr Herbert Gledstanis, rector of Dronnok, upon rents totalling £10. The gift of the chaplainry passed to his family, but in 1550/51 Matthew Gledstanis agreed to the removal of the image of the saint and its service to the altar of the Holy Blood in the same church, as the endowment was insufficient to sustain a chaplain. With the consent of Herbert Cunningham, patron of the Holy Blood, one chaplain was to serve both altars.(107)

### CHAPTER THREE

#### THE STRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF ST NICHOLAS', ABERDEEN

"Sancti Nicholai de Abbirdone" first appears in 1157 among the churches and lands confirmed by Pope Adrian to Edward, Bishop of Aberdeen, with authority to erect a chapter.(1) The church was built on an elevated site above the mill burn which descended from the Burgh Loch to the Green and the channels of the Dee. Attempts to date the church relative to the burgh by its position outwith the ports have proved inconclusive.(2) Traditionally the church was built in 1060, but neither the oldest surviving fabric nor the dedication would suggest a date prior to the twelfth century.(3) It has been suggested recently that St Nicholas' might have succeeded a Celtic foundation. However, the only evidence cited in support of this, an incised stone cross, is not Celtic, but a fragment of a thirteenth or fourteenth century grave slab.(4) Of the great mediaeval church all that now stands are the north and south transepts, the south now sheathed externally in granite, the crossing, reconstructed after the fire of 1874, and St Mary's Chapel, underneath the East Kirk.

Though little survives of the mediaeval fabric of St Nicholas', it may embody remains attributable to a date contemporary with the issue of the bull. Masonry of two early periods is distinguishable in the north transept and crossing, the later of which, transitional in form, has been interpreted as a repair to damage inflicted about 1153 in Eystein's raid on "Apardion . . where he killed many people and wasted the city".(5) This explanation was rejected by Kelly, who regarded the work as of too late a date. The results of the 1974 north transept excavation would suggest that even the oldest portions of the surviving fabric still "in situ" post-date the raid. The earliest datable find of the excavation was a half-penny of the reign of Malcolm IV (1153-1165), discovered wedged in the stones of the original foundation of the north-west crossing pier. Traces of burning were uncovered close to the pillar, yet these proved to be undatable.(6)

Kelly's reconstruction of the twelfth century church of St Nicholas' was closely based upon the initial form of St Magnus', Kirkwall. This proposed a cruciform church with nave of seven bays, choir, both aisled, the latter terminated by an eastern apse. However,

construction of St Magnus' began with the choir in 1136 and was completed in its original form in about 1150. Although the Malcolm IV penny affords an incontrovertible date "post quem" for the crossing foundations of St Nicholas' of, at the earliest, 1153, the details of the work would point to a date some fifty years after the completion of St Magnus'.(7)

The recent removal of the lath and plaster from the interior of the Drum aisle permits an examination of the transepts in their entirety and reveals a complex sequence of development, considerably at variance with the traditional reconstruction. It is now clear that the various openings from the transepts and crossing date from different periods. From the crossing itself high arches opened into nave, chancel and transepts. All this work is transitional, both in the details of the capitals, square abaci, piers supporting round arches, and in the plain window opening. Each of the transept walls was pierced by a pair of large, round-headed, deeply splayed and unadorned windows, of a form which points to a late twelfth or early thirteenth century date. Windows of a similar style are found in the east wall of the dormitory at Dryburgh.

From the transepts arches opened into north and south nave and choir aisles. However, neither pair of arches is contemporary with the transepts, nor are those of the nave of the same date as those of the choir. It has been suggested that in the two round-headed arches which open into the nave aisles is to be found the oldest surviving masonry in Aberdeen. However, it can be seen that these postdate the window openings as the insertion of the arch in the south aisle interfered with the lower portion of the northern of the two windows. As it is now known that the nave aisles were only built in the mid-fourteenth century, these arches can be dated no earlier. Even though deprived of perhaps a metre of their true height by the rise in floor level, their small opening is wholly at odds with the grand conception of the remainder of the transepts. Their archaic form may possibly be attributed to the later mediaeval revival of such patterns, but even if these should be proved genuine twelfth century work, it is clear that they are not in situ.





Plate 1:

A view of the transepts and crossing of the parish church of St Nicholas looking north from the Drum aisle to the Collison aisle. The large window is that inserted in 1519, and which necessitated the blocking of St Michael's door at the left hand corner of the window. The tomb recess below the right hand corner of the window is that of the Collison family, associated with their altar of St Michael. The recess now houses the effigy traditionally attributed to Provost Davidson.





Plate 2:

The east wall of the north transept or Collison aisle. This shows the late-fifteenth century arch, now largely built up, which opened into the choir aisles. Over its apex is the sole surviving Romanesque window, which may have been removed from the original chancel and inserted here during the construction of the choir. To the left of these two features is a Transitional window, the lower half of which was at some date filled in. It has been suggested that the arched recess directly below this window gave access to a chapel appended on the east of the transept, but there is no indication of any such structure on the wall's external face. It is more likely that the recess housed St Michael's altar and that the window above was blocked to accommodate its associated altarpiece.





Plate 3:

This shows the west wall of the south transept. The arch below the right hand window gave access to the south nave. Although by reason of its austere form the arch has been assumed to be one of the earliest features of the church, this is undermined by the fact that the Cartulary records the construction of the nave aisle in 1355, and that the insertion of the arch postdated the window, the lower portion of which was compromised and built up. The form of the arch is no guarantee of its antiquity. If it is of twelfth century date, it is not in its original position. It may not even be contemporary with the nave aisle but may have been slapped through at a later date.





Plate 4:

Now stripped of lath and plaster the east wall of the south transept illustrates the constructional history of the church from c.1200 to the 1830s. Plate 4 shows the initial form of the wall, pierced by three lights, two large windows corresponding with the other transept walls, and between them a third, lesser window. This was evidently inserted to illumine the altar of Our Lady, on the site of which the table stands. An aumbry and piscina associated with the altar flank the table, but are unclear in the photographs. The coarser stonework used in raising the level of the transept walls is work of the 1830s.

During the demolition of the old East Kirk in 1837 the foundations of the twelfth century chancel were uncovered. According to an eye-witness, John Ramsay, "The original church had a transept, yet no choir with side aisles, as latterly, but merely a chancel, rather more in length than either limb of the original transept . . . The eastern end was round".(8) Kelly was aware of this account and used its testimony of an apse as evidence in favour of the model of St Magnus', yet without any explanation he disregarded Ramsay's clear statement that the original chancel was not aisled. The two existing pointed arches which opened from the transepts into the choir aisles are insertions attributable to the rebuilding of the choir in the later fifteenth century. Directly above the centre of the northern arch is a fine window with angle shafts, carved caps and mouldings. This is the sole surviving window of this style in the church, and may be of a date considerably earlier than its fellow window in the east wall, which is of a type with those in the three other transept side walls. This reverses the traditional sequence of building, which holds that the plain windows were "Norman", and that the more elaborate window, and the crossing, were part of a later rebuilding.(9) Other fragments of romanesque and transitional work have been incorporated in the north aisle, a scalloped capital in a late mediaeval recess in the east wall, and a pair of engaged columns reused in the north gable window of 1518/19. It is likely that the window is no longer in situ, but a detail of masonry salvaged from the demolition of the original chancel, and built into its present position during the insertion of the choir aisle arches.

Comparison with St Magnus' is misleading. Although the transepts are comparable in area, St Nicholas' cruciform plan is evidently later in date, while in terms of elevation St Nicholas' is markedly the inferior of the cathedral. Alternative parallels are not easy to find. Architectural evidence for the other great burgh kirks prior to 1400 is at best fragmentary. The re-use of older building material was, however, not unique to Aberdeen. The oldest structures of St Giles', Edinburgh, date from no earlier than the mid-fourteenth century, but these incorporate earlier stonework. A scalloped capital is now built into St Eloy's chapel, and a highly carved romanesque doorway survived until the late eighteenth century.

It is suggested here that the transepts and crossing of St Nicholas' are those of a late twelfth century rebuilding. Until the southern was further extended this would have consisted of transepts of equal dimensions, a crossing surmounted by a low tower, a nave of unknown length, and an apsidal chancel of perhaps three bays. Both nave and chancel were aisleless. Comparisons with the predecessor of this phase should be sought with lesser parish churches such as Leuchars and Dalmeny, both of the second half of the twelfth century. This church is likely to have conformed to the tripartite plan of architecturally distinct apse, chancel and nave. The apsidal chancel foundations seen by Ramsay are what might be expected of a church of 1157. It may have been this structure which was replaced in the fifteenth century. Before the construction of the transepts the nave would have abutted directly on to the west end of the chancel. The stony surface set in natural gravel and running between the foundations of the two northern crossing piers, which was uncovered by the 1974 excavation, may conceivably be the foundation of the north wall of this structure.(10)

Chantries are unknown in the church until the later thirteenth century when those of St John Evangelist, the Rood and Our Lady appear. Payments to the lights of Our Lady were recorded in 1294, but the altar was evidently of much earlier foundation. Between and below the main lights of the Drum aisle, later known as the Choir of the Blessed Virgin, the east wall was pierced by a smaller round-headed window. This appears to be contemporary with the transept, and was clearly intended to illumine the altar.(11)

It is only in the mid-fourteenth century that any detailed documentation of the kirk appears. The Cartulary records a series of burgess donors to the ornamentation and fabric of the church between 1340 and 1360. Gifts included paving, glazed windows, images, vestments, a tabernacle of the passion, and the two bells, Lawrence and Mary. Among the benefactors was Cristina Bruce, the only known donor of royal blood.(12) Architecturally, the most significant development was the reconstruction of the nave aisles. Owing to the conflation of two passages in Cooper's translation of the Cartulary, this has escaped general notice. In 1355, the





Plate 5:

This shows the southward extension of the transept to accommodate the altar of SS Lawrence and Ninian in 1356. The change in the colour of stone between the second and third main windows marks the junction of the two periods of work. The design of the window in this section of wall deliberately continues the earlier series. In the late fifteenth century the reconstruction of the chancel as an aisled choir involved the breaching of the transept wall and insertion of an arch. This necessitated the building up of the northernmost window. The window lighting the altar was built up at the same date in consequence of the south wall of the choir aisle abutting on the transept at this point.

provost, William Leith, "cum assistencia et adiutorio communitatis cepit fabricare chorum ex parte australi nauis ecclesie extendens ab altari sancti leonardi vsque ad occidentalem finem Ad quam vero fabricam de bonis propriis contulit quadraginta libras Et residuum vero expensarum collatum fuit per communitatem Et dictus Willermus tradidit et legauit in testamento sue vltime voluntatis ad fabricam chori borealis dicte parochialis ecclesie quadraginta libras ad finem que per modum chori australis fabricaretur".(13)

There has been suggestion that this surge of activity was in response to damage inflicted upon the church during the destructive English raid of 1336, but against this, Boece states that although the Chanonry was sacked, the churches and monasteries of the town were spared.(14) The expansion of the nave may simply have been a response to congestion caused by the increasing numbers of chantry altars. By 1360 there were at least ten side altars within the parish church.

In 1356 Leith extended the south transept or "chorum beate virginis" by sixteen feet to accommodate an altar in honour of SS Lawrence and Ninian.(15) The junction of the two periods of work is rendered visible by the differing colours of stone employed. The east wall of the extension is pierced by a window of the same form as the earlier sections of wall. The construction of these windows at different periods and in different contexts is emphasised by the sill of the fourteenth-century window being somewhat higher than its neighbours, evidently to accommodate the reredos of the altar of SS Lawrence and Ninian which stood below it. By adherence to the older pattern the mason succeeded in lighting the extended transept and avoided the introduction of a discordant note in the line of windows. That this was a conscious decision is borne out by the doorway of the contemporary pointed-arched style which pierced the west wall of Leith's extension.

There is no indication of any further major development until the construction of the vaulted chapel of Our Lady of Piety during the first half of the fifteenth century. This was founded upon the slope which falls away eastwards from the church towards Correction Wynd



and which was to serve as a crypt upon which the extended choir was later built. It is vaulted throughout, a single bay in length, flanked by north and south aisles and an eastern three-sided apse. The chapel first appears in 1445, in a grant of various rents to an unnamed altar "to be mad in the north yill of Our Lady of Pyte".(16) The identification of the chapel with the dedication is confirmed by an instrument of 1542/3 "acta . . in ecclesia subterranea Dive virginis de pietate in ecclesia parrochiali divi nicholai", and by the 1559/60 inventory which listed "ane chalice of our lady of pity in the wowlt".(17)

The fabric of the aisle gives an indication of its date, as in this it shares with the nave of St Machar (1424-1440) the characteristic of granite ashlar.(18) Other than some later alterations which employ freestone, the walls, piers and vaulting are constructed entirely of this, a stone rarely employed by the medieval mason. In England, an example is to be found at Launceston, but no other is known in Scotland.

Our Lady of Piety thus vies with the abbey of Crossraguel for the distinction of being the earliest surviving polygonal apse in Scotland. The rebuilding of the choir of Crossraguel is said to have been the work of Abbot Colin (c.1460-1490), but there is some suggestion that it might be dated as early as 1440.(19) The reintroduction of the apse as an element of ecclesiastical architecture was a distinctive feature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Scottish architecture of this period has been described as the fag end of the international tradition, yet if it lacks the grace of contemporary English work, Scots masons cannot be accused of lack of imagination.(20) Within the group of eighteen churches of this period which contain an apsidal element, there is little uniformity in detail. St Salvator's College (post 1450), Seton (c.1470-78), Ladykirk (c.1500) and Blackfriars, St Andrews (post 1516), were all aisleless and roofed by a heavy pointed barrel-vault. King's College (post 1500) was also unaisled, but covered with a timber roof. Depictions of the chapel of St Nicholas' hospital in Glasgow show it to have reverted to an even older tradition with a round apse.(21) The apses of the three great burgh churches of St

Nicholas', Holy Rood in Stirling, and St Michael's in Linlithgow were appended to aisled choirs. Those of Holy Rood and St Michael's were both vaulted, yet respectively five-sided and three-sided.

Though the period of construction can be approximated, virtually nothing else is known concerning the chapel. Unfortunately, its probable date coincides with the lost burgh registers of the years from 1414 to 1434. Unspecified work upon the church was in hand in 1443 when the master mason David Hardgate appears in the pay of the council, and in June of the previous year he, David Dun and Robert and Gilbert Mason were engaged by William Leslie of Balquhain.(22) Since its restoration in 1898 the chapel has been identified with the Coclarchie chantry founded by Elizabeth Gordon, the relict of Alexander Seton, lord Gordon, and is consequently said to have been built by her. Bulloch, however, pointed out that this may be based upon a misinterpretation. Writing in the 1530s, Ferrerius stated that Elizabeth Gordon founded a chaplainry dedicated to St Leonard, and endowed it with the lands of Coclarchie.(23) These had been granted to Seton in 1425 by Alexander, Earl of Mar. This would put the date of the foundation of the Gordon chantry between 1425 and Elizabeth Gordon's death in 1438, which, it must be admitted, corresponds with both Lichton's construction of St Machar's granite nave, and with the earliest reference to Our Lady of Piety. However, Sir Robert Gordon expanded Ferrerius' account, relating the death of Elizabeth Gordon in 1438 and her burial "at Nicolas his church, in New Aberdene, in the yle of Coclarchie, which yle herself had caused build". Bulloch casts doubt on the possibility that, in his account of Elizabeth Gordon's foundation, Ferrerius should omit mention of her building of the chapel. Gordon later states that the unfortunate Sir John Gordon, captured at Corrichie, "wes beheaded at Aberdeen, and wes buried in Sanct Nicolas his church in New Aberdeen, in the south syd of the yle of Coclarchie, or our Ladies altar". However, Ferrerius, writing the better part of a century before Gordon, would have the dedication as St Leonard. In two charters and their corresponding instruments of sasine, all of 1557, the chaplain, Mr David Carnegie, granted the lands of Coclarchie in feu with the consent of his patron, George, Earl of Huntly. In all of these documents the name of the saint was

originally left blank. In one of the charters and the accompanying sasine, Bulloch pointed out that a later hand had inserted "Marie", yet the abstract of the charter printed in *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff* gives the dedication as if part of the original deed. Two other deeds, of 1520 and 1617, give the dedication as St Leonard. As the altar of St Leonard, which stood in the nave, first appears in 1356, it would appear that Elizabeth Gordon's foundation was a second chaplainry at an existing altar, rather than the construction of a wholly new chapel.(24) Nevertheless, the silence regarding the altar and its endowments in both Cartulary and burgh council sources is hard to explain. The only known donor to the altar, Mr David Menzies, was a member of the staff of both cathedral and university, and one might speculate as to his being the chaplain of the altar.(25) Yet if the chaplainry were an episcopal foundation setting a seal of approval upon the town's enterprise, one would expect to find some record of the service in the 1511 rental which lists other services in St Nicholas' at the disposal of the bishop.(26)

The chapel of Our Lady of Piety was clearly intended as the initial stage of the "qyeyr werk", and its probable author remains the burgh council. After the construction of the chapel, extension of the choir appears to have been suspended. The burgh registers make frequent reference to sums put towards the kirk werk, but repair of the bell tower in 1451 and 1453 is the only undertaking which is specified.(27)

Major work was in progress once more in November 1474, when the master of work, sir Andrew Wright, contracted for the delivery of eighteen score stones of lead at Aberdeen harbour.(28) In April 1477 the object of the expenditure is revealed as "the biging of the qveyr".(29)

The application of surplus wealth to major devotional purposes in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is an indication of the economic vitality of the burghs. Dictated in great part by the demand for accommodation of private chapels, this took the form of ostentatious reconstruction of the burgh church. Both nave and

chancel of St Nicholas' had attracted donations from individual burgesses in the fourteenth century, and these proved to be munificent donors even in major projects, such as William Leith's construction of the nave aisles, and Alexander Williamson's paving of the choir.(30) The town council's building operations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were projects of a far greater scale, demanding long term commitment, the expense only to be met by repeated impositions upon the town's inhabitants and trade over a period of decades. The sums required to complete the work were far beyond the immediate resources of the burgh and its trade. The ferm of the various dues belonging to St Nicholas' work, including the "ton fracht" and Sunday fish brought only eight merks and four pence in February 1474/75.(31) From at least 6 October 1441 a tax was levied by the council of Aberdeen upon "the Schippes that cummys to the toune, that is to say the fraght of sok and tun to the kirkwerk", possibly towards the construction of Our Lady of Piety's chapel.(32) On 10 October 1449, with the consent of the merchants of the burgh, the council ordained that for the terms of four years every merchant sending goods to Bruges should pay four groats for each sack of wool and clath of skins, and one groat on each barrel of salmon and dacre of hides "to be disponit upon the reparatione of the parise kirk of Sanct Nicholace". A penny was to be levied upon each barrel destined for other ports. This grant was confirmed in 1451 to the repair of the jewels of the church.(33)

As the parishioners of St Nicholas' the burgesses of Aberdeen held the customary responsibility for the maintenance of the fabric of the nave, but in common with other towns the council came to assume responsibility also for that of the chancel and choir, technically maintained by the bishop as rector. The ambitions of the burgess parishioners to display in the fabric of the mother church their pride in the burgh exceeded both the wealth and will of the ecclesiastical authorities. In 1442/3 by a contract with the abbey of Lindores, which held the parsonage of the parish church of St Mary, and in return for an annual rent of five merks, the magistrates of Dundee accepted responsibility for the maintenance of the choir.(34) In 1462 the Prior of St Andrew promised £100 annually for five years towards the building of the choir of St Mary's,

Haddington. The Priory came to a similar arrangement with the council of Linlithgow in 1497, by which the former undertook to make annual payments of 205 merks to the construction of the choir, on condition that the Priory should be relieved of all other expenses in its maintenance.(35) In 1507 by an indenture with the Abbey of Dunfermline the council of Stirling undertook to construct and complete a choir "conformand to the body of the peroch kirk". Until the work should be completed, the council made over the nave of the kirk to the Abbey to serve as a temporary choir. The convent in turn undertook to make annual payments of £200 towards the construction.(36)

In 1477 the second teinds of Aberdeen were donated to the building of the choir of St Nicholas' by the bishop of Aberdeen, Thomas Spens, but the gift was revoked by his successor, Robert Blackadder. Committed to the completion of the choir, and facing financial embarrassment the burgesses of Aberdeen were understandably incensed. On 6 November 1481 the council decreed unanimously "that as Robert elect confirmat of Abirdon has schavine hym unkindly in the ristrictioun of the secund teind of Abirdene quhilk is gevine be his predecessor beschop Thomas Spens quhome god assolze to the biging of the quer of Abirdene . . . that nane nychtbur duelland within the said brugh sal mak na servias to the said Robert Elect na yet to nane of his factoris on his behalf". Those guilty of breaking this boycott were to forfeit their freedom of the town and any tacks held.(37)

In response to Spens' contribution the council granted to the kirkwork for seven years, or longer if necessary, all fees of alderman, baillies, dean of gild, abbot and prior of Bonaccord, together with all other resources of the common good. The town's fishings on the Don and Dee were committed until the choir should be completed, and were employed to maintain the lodge of masons.(38) To these, in August 1478, the council added the pensions of the chaplains of the choir.(39) Other stents were imposed to finance lesser projects, such as the building of the organs, for which in April 1485 a tax was imposed upon all cattle, sheep and swine within the burgh.(40) In November 1501 the council confirmed the use of

all grassums of fishings and lands to the kirk work, and by a statute of April 1502 imposed a levy upon salt brought into the port.(41)

The lodge appears to have normally comprised three or four masons under a master. In November 1497 Matthew Wricht, who had served the town since at least 1493, was still in its pay, as were David Wricht, John Cant and Nicol Mason, and the unnamed master.(42) In 1487 the master was a John Gray, who was assigned the mail of half a net of burgh's fishings of the Raik "quhile the queir be biggit".(43) An entry of 24 April 1497 records the terms of contract agreed by the master mason, Mr Lancelot, who was hired for two years from Whitsun to work in the construction of the choir, fabricating moulds, cutting and laying stone in both the town and the quarries at Cowie for as long as he was charged. He was not to pass "forther thane he may pass in the morning and cum hame again til his bede at evin".(44)

The masons' lodge was prone to disturbances. In May 1486 Andrew Murray was convicted for "strublanche" of Thomas of Barry, John of Kyndrummy and Matthew Wricht. The masons were also suspected of filching the materials. For each penny's worth proved as stolen, they were to lose a shilling of fee. None were to bear weapons other than the knife necessary for their food. Anyone found guilty of causing a disturbance by which the kirk work might be prejudiced was to be fined five merks, and be banished from it for a year and a day. Their labours were to be confined to the kirkwork except in the case of an emergency.(45) The masons themselves had grievances, and in May 1494 abandoned their work in default of their mails. The council resorted to confiscation of the nets to compel payment.(46)

By 1495 the stonework had reached a stage advanced enough for the masters of work to pay the wright, John Fendour, for construction of the roof of the choir, and on 24 September 1498 it was at last dedicated by Bishop Elphinstone.(47) The work was, however, far from complete. On 23 April 1507 Fendour obliged himself to fashion the stalls of the choir. These were in hand by 26 December 1507 when the council charged him to complete the thirty-four stalls "with the spiris and the chanslar dur" on his own expenses "as substanciusly and honorable as he may as thai ar begunnyne and bettir

gif he can". The council undertook to pay the wright £200 for his work, augmented by a bonus if it was completed by the following Lammas, or at the latest, Michaelmas. The work was far advanced by 3 April 1508 when Fendour acknowledged receipt of £100 as part payment for the stalls and chancel door. It was probably complete by 4 November when the council elected a commission under the provost, Gilbert Menzies, to determine arrangements to raise the balance owing to Fendour.(48)

The leading of the roof was a major undertaking funded by a series of contributions, loans and taxes. The first of these was a voluntary donation of money and salmon on 8 April 1500. On 5 October 1506 the council assigned all its grassums of fishings and lands to the "thekin of thar queir". The lead had to be imported. On 10 and 27 September 1507 Thomas Borrow, an Englishman and servant of Bryame Roche, acknowledged the receipt of a quantity of salmon for ten fuder of lead.(49) On 8 January 1508/9 a further contribution was made to "theik the kirk and tofallis".(50) In September 1510 the brethren of the Baxters were each fined 40s, and the council ordered this to be given towards the lead.(52) The roof had yet to be perfected in January 1510/11 when the council agreed "that the rufe of the parish kirk of the said burgh suld stand as it is and to se and consider the faltis in the tymmer and mak thame to be reformyt".(51) On 3 February 1510/11 the council ordered the master of the kirk work, George Bisset, to cause the plumber "to pass and ende his werk and theik the body of thar kirk with leide".(53)

According to an inscription recorded by Logan, the ceiling of the choir was completed only in 1515.(54) This was identical in style to the surviving contemporary wooden barrel vault of King's College Chapel. As these are evidently contemporary, it is highly probable that Fendour was also responsible for that of King's. There is no conclusive evidence to support Kelly's hypothesis that he was a French-speaking Fleming, yet Fawcett has pointed out the close relationship between the two Aberdeen churches and the Netherlandish tradition of wagon ceilings.(55) Given Aberdeen's close contacts with the Continent there seems little need for Fendour to have been an immigrant to explain his employment of an alien form. A burgess

of Perth of this name granted 40s to the altar of "St Confessor" in the parish church of that town in 1510.(56) Whatever Fendour's origins he established himself in Aberdeen, and in 1527 a John Fendour appears as a deacon of the coopers, wrights and masons.(57) A Robert Fyndar, wright, occurs as a member of the Seton council of Edinburgh of 1559-60.(58) John Fendour was engaged in major projects over a wide area of Scotland. Between June 1501 and August 1503 he received payments from the Lord High Treasurer for the transport of wood from the Highlands to Fife for the King's work at Falkland.(59) In 1506 he is noted as receiving food and drink and a fee of £5 12s from the Bishop of Dunkeld.(60) From December 1507 to late 1508 Fendour was engaged in the construction of the stalls of St Nicholas', but he then returned to the service of the Bishop of Dunkeld. The accounts for the year from December 1509 to April 1510 list a payment of £10 for his repairs to the east wall of the parish church of Tippermuir, and from May to November 1510 he and his men worked upon the rood loft of Dunkeld cathedral and spent a week at the palace of Cluny.(61)

The construction of St Nicholas' spire in the form which survived until 1874 probably dates from after October 1490 when Richard Wricht was engaged by the council of Aberdeen "for the reparatioun of the intymmir of the stepill".(62) In April 1511 Bishop Elphinstone commissioned Fendour to construct the spire over the crossing of St Machar's, and to base his design upon that of St John Baptist's in Perth.(63) If Fendour is to be identified with the burgess of Perth, it is conceivable that this spire was another of his works. As Fendour's contract made no mention of the spire of St Nicholas', which was similar in style to that of Perth, it might be supposed that the former was yet incomplete. On 4 April 1513 the council commanded the masters of the kirk work "to reforme and mend Sanct Nicholes stepill incontinent becauss it standis in perell".(64) The "weddercok" was gilded, and on 15 November, Henry Reid received £5 "for upputting of the weddercok of Sanct Nicholace stepill".(65)

With the major constructional projects of the choir and steeple nearing completion, the council directed its attentions towards the ornamentation of the choir. In April 1514 the levy was reimposed



for five years upon wool, skins, salmon and hides exported to Flanders and Zeeland to buy "sang bukis for our queir chantour cappis frontallis towallis of the hie altar for clathis chandelaris of bras lectionis of bras westmentis and ornamentis . . . chalis mess buk and all uder necessar thingis". The levy was to be noted in every charter party, and the moneys collected by the skipper of the ship for delivery to the collector deputed by the town. Burgesses and freemen were only to be received into membership of the gild upon payment of the value of a French crown to St Nicholas' work. Craftsmen and lesser folk were to pay according to their ability. Unfreemen were not to be granted a licence to export their merchandise through Aberdeen without a payment of two French crowns.(66) In October 1527 "of thair awin fre motiwe will onecoakit or compellit be ony maner of persone" a further contribution by listed burgesses raised money and salmon towards the payment of "tua haill standis of clayth of gold" of chasubles, tunicles and other gear.(67)

The earliest known depictions of St Nicholas', in Gordon's map of 1661, shows the church in its late medieval form. The views of the choir correspond with the nineteenth century depictions. Each of the five bays was defined by squat buttresses supporting the aisle wall, which was pierced by a large, pointed-arched aisle window. Each bay of the clerestorey was lit by a small, round-headed window. A substantial angle-buttress supported the south east corner of the aisle. The eastmost bay of the choir aisle was shown in the nineteenth century as occupied by a deeply set, pointed-arched door, perhaps of medieval date. Prints and photographs of St Nicholas' prior to 1874 show a rather sturdy oaken spire, flanked at its corners by four subsidiary spires, and surmounted by a sphere and weathercock. The south face of the tower as shown by Gordon was pierced by two lancets. The other faces are likely to have been similarly pierced, but no openings are shown in Skene's "View of Wallace Nook" (c.1800). In the eighteenth century these were replaced by a single round-headed window on each face in keeping with the classical character of Gibb's West Kirk.



Plate 6:

View of the interior of the fifteenth-century choir, showing Fendour's ceiling. (From The Book of Bon Accord)

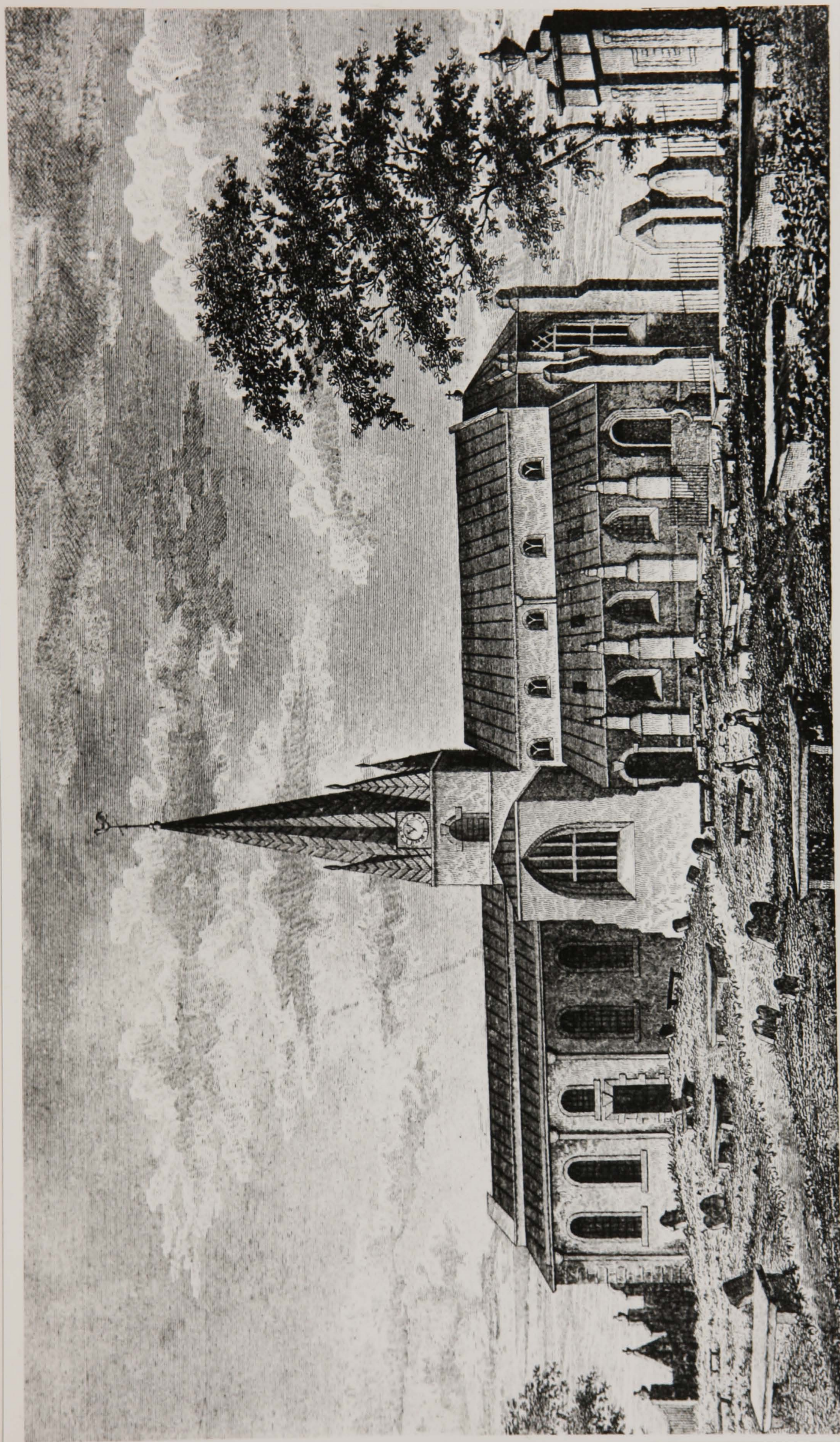
Plates 7 and 8:

The south side of St Nicholas' prior to the demolition of the choir. (Aberdeen City Arts Department)

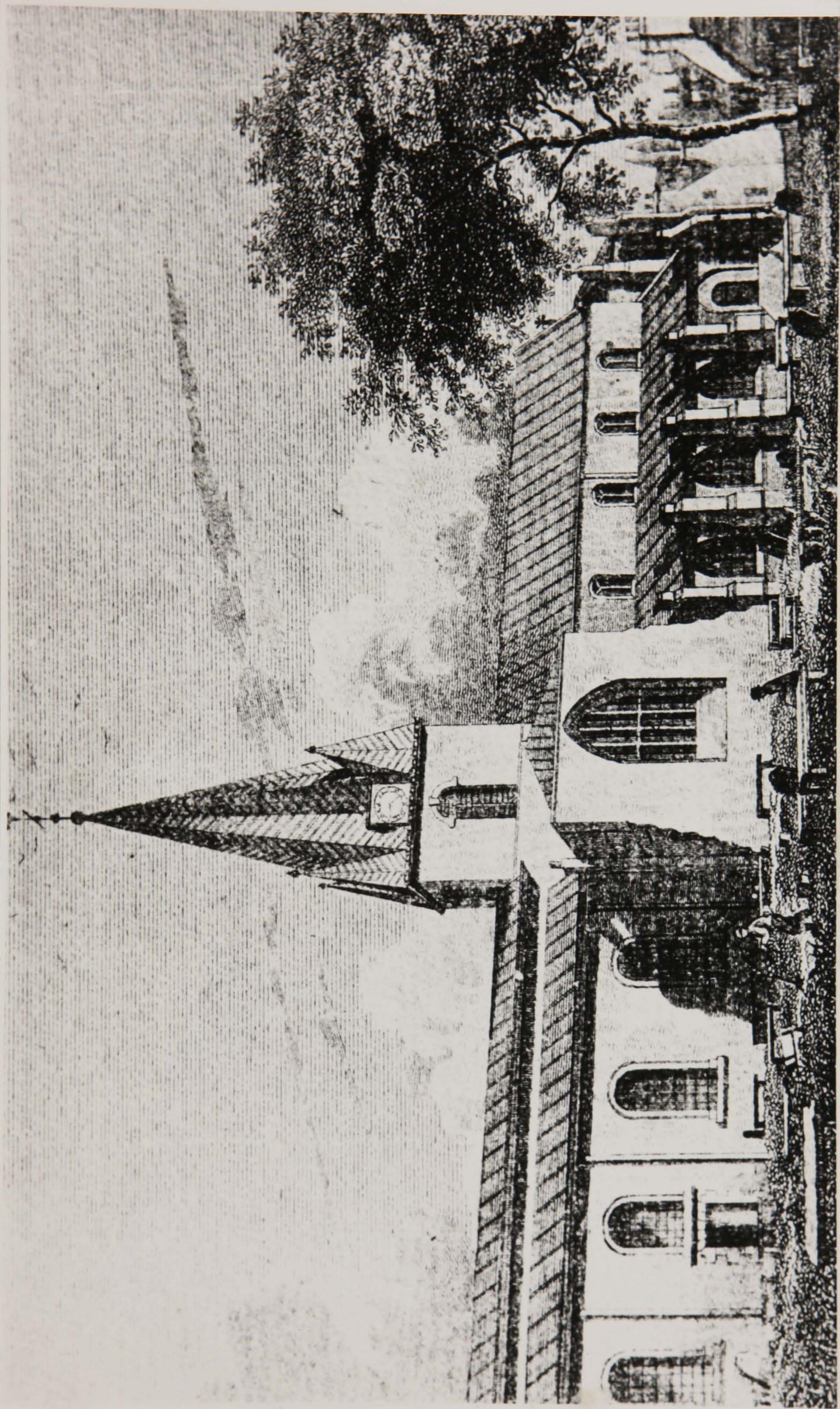
Plate 9:

Skene of Rubislaw's "View of Wallace Nook", showing the east front of the church from the Netherkirkgate. (Aberdeen City Arts Department)













*From a Drawing by J. Skene Esq. of Rubislaw*



Gordon's map does not give any clear depiction of the apse, but it is visible in the two nineteenth century prints of the south side of the church. The aisleless apse extended two bays from the east gable of the choir. The first, in line with the choir arcade, acted as a buttress and was unpierced by windows. The second, the apse itself, was of three sides, each pierced by a large window. Its four corners were heavily buttressed. The "View of Wallace Nook" shows the east window as filled by an elaborate loop tracery of sixteenth century appearance. Above the apse, the east wall of the choir was pierced by a small circular window which would have lit the roof space above the wooden barrel ceiling of the choir. Below the level of the choir the east wall of the apse of Our Lady of Piety was lit by a pair of round-headed windows, and doubtless the other faces conformed. These were replaced in the nineteenth century during the construction of the East Kirk.

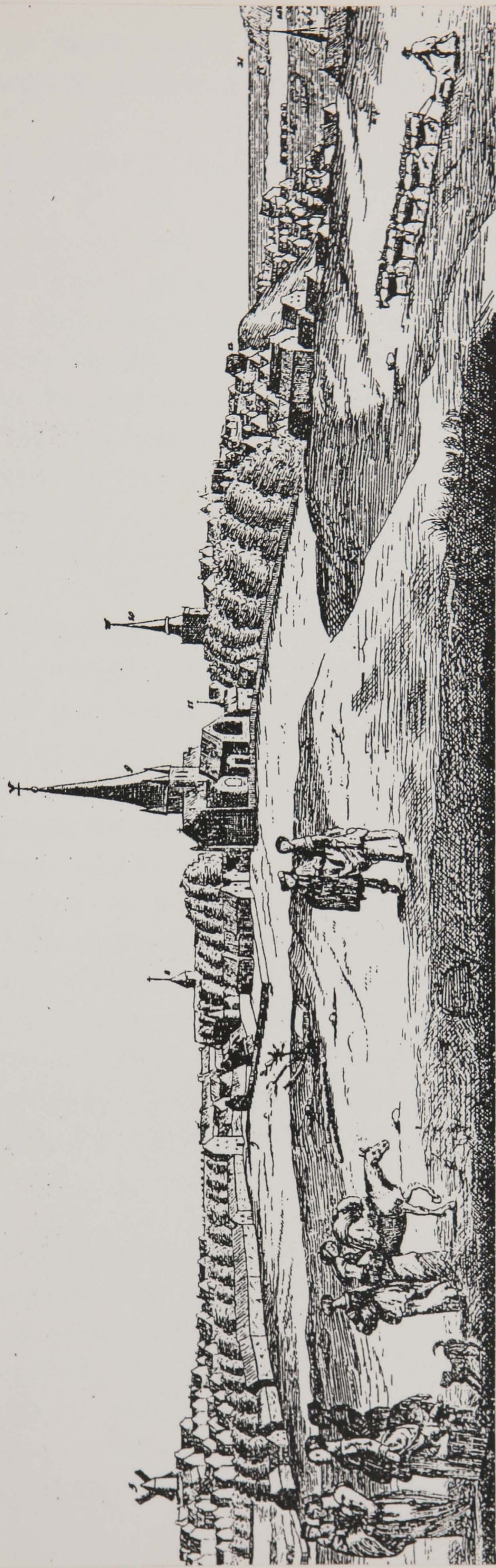
The appearance of the interior of the choir is preserved in a drawing which shows Fendour's wooden ceiling as virtually identical in form to that surviving at King's College. Through its great arch, which rose to clerestorey level, the apse is shown to have been finished in corresponding style. The wall space usually allocated to the triforium is surrendered to high pointed arches rising from round piers. The aisle roofs were of wooden, lean-to form. One of the two archways in the north wall would have led into the sacristy and chapter house which adjoined the north choir aisle.(68) Within the revestry was set the "gryt amrie callit the fardin".(69)

The original transitional lights in the north transept gable were replaced in January 1518/19 by a single, broad, pointed-arched window, which incorporated two twelfth-century wall-shafts. The masters of the kirkwork were commanded "to translat thair funt and passag to the rudloft and bigup sanct michell dur and mak a fair wyndo in that gavill of thair croce kirk".(70) The outline of the door is still visible on both faces of the wall. The sixteenth-century window, with its simple basket tracery, also survives, and is of similar style to the window of the Greyfriars' church of Aberdeen which can be dated between 1518 and 1532.(71) Gordon depicted a window of similar pattern but uncertain date in the south transept

gable window. The gable at that date appears to have risen to a peak, whereas engravings of the early nineteenth century show it as level with the east and west walls of the transept and covered by a barn-like roof of the form still to be seen on the north transept.(72)

The last major work of construction prior to the Reformation involved the rebuilding of the west gable of the nave. The length of time taken to complete this work (1537-1541) would suggest that the undertaking was of a major scale. However, building work was already in hand in 1531 when a scale of fees was established for the porters bearing lime, stone and timber from the quay and Futy to the kirkyard, although in January 1531/32 some of these materials were diverted to the reconstruction of the grammar school.(73) In May of 1532 money owed to "Sanct Nicholas leid" was collected, and in November the master of work was commanded to raise all outstanding moneys as soon as possible to purchase all materials necessary "to beggyne and mak yar said tofallis".(74) The reconstruction of the gable and the building of the "tofallis" may indicate that it was at this date that the nave was extended to the length recorded by Keith. Demolished to make way for Gibb's present West Kirk, this structure was some 117 feet long and 66 feet wide.(75)

On 23 November 1537 the council commanded David Anderson "to tak downe the wast gawill dur of the kirk quhen he thinkis tyme and to byg the same agane of new in the best maner with the radiast stanis that pertenis to the said kirk and with the radiast money he hes or gettis to furneis the same".(76) On 8 November 1538 John Rattray was commanded to have John Forstar buy iron in Flanders "to be ane wyndo to Sanct nicholaus kirk".(77) In February following this Anderson was commanded to buy two hundred ashlar stones and eight chalders of lime to build the window in the gable "in all gudly haist".(78) Porters were still bearing stones to the kirkyard in August 1540.(79) In November the town's mason, Robert Moir, and his eight servants were hired "to hew ye eshlar stanis to ye west kirk gawall". Each of his men received 16d per day, and Moir himself 20d from 9 October until eight days after Uphaliday.(80) The window was



View of Aberdeen, from Gordon of Rothiemay's Map



still incomplete in March 1541/42 when Anderson was commanded "to staik ye gawell wyndo of yar kirk wyt samekill irne of his awin".(81)

The great window is visible in Gordon's two views which are also the only illustrations of the nave prior to its demolition. Unfortunately both are too small to allow much detail to be resolved. The map depicts the church as seen from the south and gives a good impression of its great length. The accompanying view shows the church as seen from the south-west, tall buttresses surmounted by finials supporting the termini of the nave arcades. The nave is shown as aisled, the wall heads crenelated, with a large south porch adjoining the second bay from the west. Above the aisle roof the nave wall was pierced by a series of small clerestorey windows, the number of which has been exaggerated by the engraver.

Like St Giles' of Edinburgh, St Nicholas' was a product of several centuries' sporadic, though energetic, development. Although by the mid-1540s its limbs had reached some degree of conformity in scale, there remained the constant financial drain of maintenance. The dean of gild's accounts of Ayr and Edinburgh chronicle the innumerable petty expenses and the repairs, both major and minor.(82) The Aberdeen council registers record many of these. On 3 February 1541/42, at the request of the masters of the kirk work, the council of Aberdeen hired Robert Wishert to mend the windows of the kirk for life. On 26 August 1546 David Anderson was commissioned to send to St Andrews for a plumber to repair the faults of the kirk. On 22 November 1559 Gilbert Colison, Anderson's successor as master of the kirk work, was commanded to mend the windows and the lead of the roof, and to prop the north aisle's roof until it could be repaired.(83)

Local craftsmen were active in the adornment of the church. In 1450 Duncan Clatt displayed the large eucharist commissioned by the council of Aberdeen from a local craftsman, Theman Goldsmith. In 1501 William Goldsmith, the father of sir John Goldsmith, later chaplain of St Eloy, was commissioned by sir Andrew Smith, the curate of Fintray, to fashion a silver reliquary head in honour of the parish's patron, St Medan. Tradition relates that this was

converted into the existing seventeenth century communion cup.(84)  
On 14 June 1527 the burgh delivered the chalice of the altar of St John Evangelist to David Bruce with a further fifteen ounces of broken silver to be used in the fashioning of a larger chalice and paten.(85)

Yet the skills of local craftsmen were insufficient to cater for all the needs of the parish church, and Aberdeen, as the rest of the country, imported manufactured goods. From its sheltered harbour in the estuary of the Dee Aberdeen exported the raw produce of salmon, wool, skins and hides to the ports of Scandinavia and the Baltic, to the Low Countries and France. From the Baltic Aberdeen imported timber, grain and metals. "Estland burd" was a recurrent expense of the kirk work.(86) Commercial ties with the Low Countries were particularly strong. Bruges was the home of an expatriate community of Scots merchants, to whom in 1366 the prior of the Carmelite friary granted the chapel of Our Lady and St Ninian.(87) Scotland's domestic market was too restricted to maintain the range of specialist crafts and technologies which flourished in the great urban centres of the Low Countries, and upon which it was dependent for manufactured goods, cloth, metalwork, and luxuries. Froissart had written of the limitations of Scots industry, "It is almost impossible to get iron to make horseshoes, or leather for harness. Everything comes ready made from Flanders, and failing that there is nothing".(88)

The Netherlandish influence evident in the design of the fifteenth century choir is yet more explicit in its furnishing. Textiles such as cloth of gold, velvet and silk were a major expense in the refurbishment of the choir. On 24 October 1491 the town placed a levy upon wool, skins, salmon and hides "to the redschip of the bautkin tile our glorious patrone Sanct Nicholes", until the sum owing for it to Van Stakinbrughe, porter of Bruges, be paid. On 16 April Andrew Lamington agreed to send money towards its purchase in the first ship sailing from Aberdeen to Flanders or Zeeland. Arrangements to ship the baldachin to Aberdeen were still being negotiated in March 1492/93.(89) In April 1526 David Anderson appealed to the council to assist in the realisation of moneys owing

to St Nicholas' in France and Flanders for the purchase and homebringing of four velvet copes.(90) In 1532 William Roland was charged to fulfill the contract between his late father and the smiths of the town six years earlier regarding a vestment of St Eloy's altar to be brought from Flanders.(91)

Despite evidence for a native school of painting, exemplified by the master of the Guthrie and Foulis panels and by the now lost Turriff St Ninian, Scots patrons greatly favoured the more refined products of the Flemish workshops.(92) The surviving panels of the Trinity College triptych are an impressive indication of the quality of these imports.(93) The portrait of Bishop Elphinstone is believed to have constituted the right wing of the table of the high altar of King's, which was described in 1542 as a painting of great skill. This too appears to be of Flemish manufacture.(94) The Bishop of Dunkeld likewise imported an altarpiece for his chantry of St Columba in the parish church of Dundee.(95) The patrons of St Nicholas' shared this taste. On 20 January 1527/28 William Orum admitted that he had received moneys, which were to be sent to Veere "to ane payntor to help to by ane tabernakill to the said sanct James altar".(96)

From the workshops of the Low Countries were also imported funerary brasses. Although these have by and large perished, the stone matrices in which they were set have in a number of cases been preserved, and bear the imprint of the large rectangular plate characteristic of Continental manufacture. The majority of these slabs are found along the eastern seaboard, but the remainder indicate their penetration to much of the remainder of the country, to Elgin, Iona, and Galloway. In February 1450 the baillie court of Aberdeen obliged John Trail to pay 40s annually until he should "bryng hame the blew stane til his fadre", a reference to the blue Tournai matrix slab in which the brass were commonly set.(97) The only intact pre-Reformation brass in Scotland is that of Alexander Irvine of Drum in the south transept of St Nicholas'. As the date was left incomplete it is likely that this small plaque was ordered prior to Irvine's death in 1457. This is believed to have been produced in Bruges. The fate of these monuments, and a suggestion

that they were until then relatively numerous, is found in an entry of December 1560 by which the town's treasurers were said to have received "sa mony lawaris and throthis of brass as war left unstowin".(98)

## CHAPTER FOUR

### OTHER CHURCHES AND CHAPELS OF NEW ABERDEEN

The mediaeval portions of St Nicholas' are now the sole extant remains of a series of ecclesiastical foundations within the burgh and its territories. Of these the four major were the friaries. Although these would have played a major role in the life of the burgh, and a large corpus of documentation survives, this is almost wholly concerned with financial and property transactions. As they have been treated extensively elsewhere they are here only noted briefly.(1)

### The Trinitarian Friary

Traditionally the earliest of the friaries was that of the Trinitarians, said to have been founded during the reign of William the Lion (1174-1215), although the earliest definite reference is of 1273. William's alleged donation of a palace to their uses may perhaps be an exaggerated description of a royal property within the town. The friars were patrons of a chaplainry at the high altar of St Nicholas in the parish church. The friary stood in the east end of the Green, at the foot of the Shiprow. The church, a simple, aisleless structure, survived until 1794 when it was replaced by the present building. The conventual buildings passed into the ownership of the Incorporated Trades of Aberdeen, and portions may have survived in a much altered form until 1857.(2)

### The Dominican Friary

The foundation of the Dominican friary of St John Baptist is attributed to Alexander II, between 1230 and 1249, and is first documented in 1257. In 1362/63 a chaplainry was endowed by David II at the altar of St Michael.(3) A second side altar, dedicated to St Katherine, is noted in 1529.(4) Demolished in January 1560, the properties of the convent were granted to George, Earl Marischal, and by him to Marischal College. It stood on the north side of Schoolhill, and during the excavation of the Art Gallery foundations, a portion of the cemetery was uncovered. Gordon's map shows a building aligned north-south in an enclosure labelled "Black Freers", which may have been some fragment of the complex, perhaps of the domestic buildings.(5)

## The Castle Chapel

The castle of Aberdeen is first recorded in the reign of Alexander III (1249-1286), when payments to Richard Cementarius would suggest that it was being built, or rebuilt, in stone, and it was presumably a fragment of this structure that is noted on Gordon's map of 1661. In 1264 a payment of 5 merks was made "capellano ministrandi in capello castri".(6) This is traditionally identified with the chapel of St Ninian which stood on Castlehill, but it may well be that they were distinct, and that the former was destroyed along with the castle in the early fourteenth century.

## St Katherine's Chapel

Hay tells us that a convent and church dedicated to St Katherine were built by the constable of Aberdeen on what became known as St Katherine's Hill. This was repeated by Keith and was thereafter accepted uncritically by generations of writers. Evidently his inspiration came from the Dominican house of St Catherine of Siena near Edinburgh. Indeed, according to Keith, the chapel bore the same dedication. As the chapel is said to have been founded in the thirteenth century, its original dedication to a fifteenth-century saint seems improbable. In spite of Hay's account, there is no evidence that this was at any time a religious house.(7) There are no contemporary references to a convent on this site, and all the recorded chaplains were seculars, most of whom are known to have served altars in the parish church of St Nicholas.

Yet in the above there is a morsel of fact. On 5 June 1542, sir John Cuming, chaplain of St Katherine's chapel in the burgh of Aberdeen, produced king's letters against a burgess, John Chalmer. Chalmer was accused by sir John of obstructing the common vennel which led from the Green to the Shiprow and which gave access to the chapel, in common use "past memour of man". The letters made mention that "the said chapell was foundit and biggytt IIIc yeir syne be the constabill of Abirdene for the tyme for decoration in honour of St Katherine". The court gave judgement in favour of the

chaplain, yet in 1558 his successor, Mr John Reid, likewise had to resort to litigation to counter Chalmer's renewed encroachment.(8)

Sir John Cuming had an interest in giving an ancient origin as a bolster to his case, yet for the statement to be accepted in the burgh court he is unlikely to have invented a totally fallacious antiquity for the chapel, whether or not it was of three hundred years. The earliest evidence for its existence is a charter of 1437/38 which mentions St Katherine's Hill as a property boundary.(9)

Gordon of Rothiemay had access to the Burgh Court Register, and knew of the case of 1542.(10) In later years the case was one of those published in the Spalding Club's selection of extracts. Unfortunately, writers have neglected the latter source in favour of Gordon, whose over-literal interpretation of the chaplain's statement has resulted in the foundation date being given as 1242. Gordon admitted ignorance of the name of the constable and founder, but in a subsequent passage related that the title of constable was granted by David II to the descendants of a fourteenth-century Kennedy of Kermuck in recognition of his part in the recapture of the castle from the English. Later writers ignore the discrepancy in dates, conflate the two passages, and give Kennedy of Kermuck as the founder of the chapel in 1242. If sir John Cuming's claim of three hundred years as the age of the chapel is taken to be no more than an approximation, a foundation by a Kennedy constable cannot be discounted, although local historians must still be condemned for their distortion of the evidence. Gordon's statement "Quod vero fundatori nomen, non invenio" can be interpreted in two ways, firstly that the 1542 reference, of which he was aware, and which may have been his only source, did not actually name the constable. The alternative is that the identity of the founder was indeed unknown. It is perhaps significant that Gordon made no attempt to associate the Kennedys with the chapel. As he evidently accepted both the 1242 foundation date, and the tradition of David II's gift of the constabulary, this would exclude the family as founders, unless prior to receiving their title. The identity of the Kennedy's predecessors in office is unknown. In 1350 Alexander Constable, son of Roger Constable, burgess, granted lands in the Castlegate to the



Carmelites. The surname is suggestive of a relationship with either the Kennedys or the castle. Brockie described Philip Arbuthnot, a mid-fourteenth century benefactor of the Carmelites, as constable of Aberdeen, but this may have been an invention to support his account of Arbuthnot's foundation of the friary.(11)

Although the family held adjacent properties in both the Green and the Shiprow, what little surviving record refers to the chapel gives no indication of a Kennedy association. No presentations or deeds of endowments are recorded, although the succession of chaplains is known from the 1470s until the Reformation. John Gall, John Stirling, David Liel, William Coupar and John Cuming were all beneficiaries of council presentations to altarages within the burgh kirk, but the council's sole documented involvement was a supervisory role, in 1546 charging Cuming to return the chapel's bell and to repair the building.(12) There are indications of some association with the burgess family of Chalmer and with Ogilvy of Findlater. The Chalmers of Findon and Murthill founded three chaplainries of St Katherine in the parish church of St Nicholas between 1360 and 1437/38. In 1471 and 1472 Thomas de Camera acted as procurator of the chapel.(13) Sir John Stirling, a cousin of a Walter Ogilvy, served the Chalmer service in the parish church, and appears in possession of the chapel between 1487/8 and 1502. His successor, David Liel, was his cousin. Sir William Coupar, who held the chapel between 1520 and 1526/27, named among those to benefit from the celebration of his anniversary Elizabeth Prat, patroness of his chaplainry of SS Thomas and George in the parish church, and Margaret Chalmer, lady of Findlater.(14)

The 1542 statement that St Katherine's Chapel had been founded three hundred years earlier "be the constabill of Abirdene for the tyme" suggests an alternative, although highly speculative interpretation. St Katherine's Hill has now been smothered by building, but Gordon's map shows something of its original character, a steep conical hill bounded by Putachieside on the west, Shiprow on the south, and the Netherkirkgate on the north. Is it possible that the stone castle on Castlehill, on which construction work was underway in the 1260s, was a replacement for an earlier motte on St Katherine's Hill, and

that St Katherine's Chapel, founded by the Constable, was identical with the castle chapel of 1264?

### The Carmelite Friary

In 1273 the Carmelites were in possession of property in the Green, and received a rent of eight merks from Reginald le Cheyne for the construction of the church, cloister, refectory, dormitory, infirmary and kitchen. From 1324 royal grants from the burgh farms contributed to the work. The payments of 1341-43 were to be employed on the roof of the building, perhaps indication that the friary was damaged during the English raid of 1336. The friary suffered the same fate as the Dominican house, being destroyed by the reforming lairds of the Mearns, and had almost disappeared by 1661. Its lands eventually passed to Marischal College. Excavation of the site in 1980-81 uncovered what appears to have been the west end of the church.(15)

### The Leper House and the Chapel of St Anne

Three leper houses are known to have existed in the mediaeval diocese of Aberdeen, at Banff, Rathven, and Aberdeen. The date of foundation of the latter is unknown, and in recent accounts of the house there is some confusion as to its first appearance: "The Mons Hospitalis (Spitalhill) mentioned in 1333 was undoubtedly the site of this hospital . . ."(16) The implication that the hill was so named from the leper house is open to dispute. Certainly it stood at the foot of the Spittalhill, but there is little doubt that it was so named from the twelfth-century hospital of St Peter which stood upon its eastern slopes.(17)

The earliest reference to the lepers, 1 July 1363, does not specify their occupation of a hospital. The charter, regarding crofts in the territory of Aberdeen beyond the Gallowgate, refers to the King's Road leading "versus domos leprosorum".(18) The site, alongside a major road and on the boundary of the parishes of St Machar's and St Nicholas', is an understandable point of congregation for those banished from their kindred and dependent upon alms for survival. A

gradual development from an informal community, perhaps not at this stage a formally constituted hospital, might explain the absence of a chapel on the site until the project of 1519.

The community remains in obscurity until late in its history, and only in the sixteenth century do further references occur. By this period, if the above interpretation is correct, the leper settlement had been succeeded or supplemented by an hospice.

On 11 January 1519/20, at the instance of Mr Alexander Galloway, the provost and council of Aberdeen granted to "thar pure ladiis . . that pece grene land of tharis liand on the north syd of thar seikhouse". Galloway promised to "big and upheid one ane pece of ground perteining to the said seikhouse, ane chapell and oratour" in honour of St Anne. The gift, donation and patronage of this was to remain with the burgh. This entry in the burgh register has caused some confusion over the identity of the "seikhouse" with the leper settlement. St Anne's has been recently described as "A hospital for poor ladies situated at Footdee".(19) The above entry gives no indication of the site of the sickhouse, yet no hospital is otherwise suggested to have existed in Footdee. This attribution appears to have arisen from a reference to "terra quondam Gilberti Belman nunc badeis wyffis prope portam de Futye".(20) Whether "badeis wyffis" is to be interpreted as "bede wives" is open to debate. If so, there is no indication that it is anything more than a land belonging to the community, rather than the actual hospital.

The site of the Sick House and its identity with the Leper House is clear from several references. In 1512 a croft is described as "forent the seik folkis houss, beginnand at tua gret stanis on the southt and the seik folkis houss on the est and the common kingis gait passand to Aberdone on the west and the debatabile landis betuix the toun of Aberdene and the hospitale of Sanct Petir on the northt".(21) In 1526/7 a croft is described as being "apud hospitale leprosorum", and bounded by lands of the cathedral vicars-choral on north and south, the king's highway to the east and the common land of the burgh on the west. In 1538 one of these two crofts of the vicars-choral is described as "lyand besyd ye seyke folkis houss".(22)

What the 1519/20 contract seems to represent, is a final development of a process by which a casual leper settlement was to be turned into a hospice. To this would have been added a chapel to cater for the needs of this outcast community, under the government, both temporal and spiritual, of a secular chaplain. That it should also be known as the Sick House may suggest its wider uses, perhaps in time of plague. Who "thar pure ladiis" were is not made clear, either a lay sisterhood, or perhaps the occupants of the house at that time.

The chapel of St Anne does not appear again. The contract specified that the patronage was to remain in the hands of the burgh, but no presentations are to be found, and the earliest recorded masters of the house are post-Reformation. The 1560 inventory of chalices which included those pertaining to chaplainries in the gift of the burgh did not list that of St Anne nor of the leper house. The hospital chalice listed was that of St Thomas' Hospital.(23)

James Gordon of Rothiemay described the site in the mid-17th century: "the place wher of old stood the lepers hospitall, called the Seick Hous, hard by the waye syd, to which ther was a chappell adjoyned, dedicated to St Anna, quhome the papists account patronesse of the leapers. The citizens licentit one Mr Alexander Gallaway . . for to build thar chappell anno 1519. Now both thes buildings are gone and scarcelie is the name knowne to many".(24) Gordon's map, dated 1661, and his "Description" do not always tally in detail, perhaps in part as they were based upon information gathered as early as 1647. The map shows a simple gable-ended structure, set in a walled enclosure and aligned roughly north-south, labelled "Ruins of the Sick House". The account given in the "Description" is clearly derived from the entry in the burgh register. It is possible that the chapel, if indeed built, may have been demolished by Gordon's time, yet in the absence of further documentation and by the fact that the leper house retained its old titles of the sickhouse or leperhouse, it appears more likely that the contract was not fulfilled, and the chapel was either never built, or not completed.

It has been suggested that the land called "masyndow" in the Green, mentioned in 1459 may have belonged to this house. This was almost

certainly the site of the hospital of St Thomas which had then been newly founded.(25)

The house remained in use after the Reformation. In 1574 the burgh authorities took action to recover moneys owed by the occupant "of the croft and myre pertening to the lipperfolk, betuix New and Auld Aberdeen". With this and other moneys received, the house was to be "theikkit and reparit for the resett off the lipperfolk in tym cuming." At the end of the current tack, the croft and myre were to be roused and the profit derived to be disbursed for the maintenance of the house and of the lepers.(26) In 1578, David Cargill was elected master of St Thomas' Hospital in Aberdeen, and "also of the hospitall betuixt the townis".(27) The house was still in use in 1610, although inhabited only by one woman.(28) By 1661 it was in ruins, and in 1718 its lands were sold to King's College and to the Society of Advocates in Aberdeen.(29)

#### The Hospital of St Thomas Martyr

An instrument of sasine, dated 28 May 1459 records the foundation of the hospital by Mr John Clatt, canon of Aberdeen and Brechin. Dedicated to St Thomas the Martyr, it was intended for the reception of the poor and infirm. It was to be constructed upon Clatt's tenements lying on the south side of the Netherkirkgate, bounded upon the east by the water course descending from the Upper Mill, and upon the west by a vennel (now Correction Wynd). Clatt named Mr John Chalmer as the first Master or Rector, who was to serve the chaplainry of St Thomas attached to the hospital. This was further endowed with rents of 24s 8d from two properties in the Castlegate and Netherkirkgate, and with six merks of the lands of Mondynes, in Kincardineshire, for the celebration of masses for James I, Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, and the founder's parents and benefactors. On the decease of Clatt and Chalmer patronage was to pass to the provost and community of Aberdeen.(30)

Clatt was dead by 4 July, but his executor, Mr Henry Rynd, further augmented the rental of the hospital by the purchase of nineteen roods of land around the burgh of Kintore from Richard de Kintore,

provost of Aberdeen.(31) These lands later became known as the Hospital of Kintore.(32)

Mr John Chalmer was succeeded as master by his brother, sir Andrew, presented by the burgh in accordance with Clatt's assignation.(33) It continued its original purpose as a hospital for the poor and infirm, subject to the supervision of the council. On 14 May 1546 the Master, sir David Waus, confessed himself content "yat ye nedder houss under his chalmer equale with ye said chapell be rady and patent at ye tounis vill to put in decayit folkis in ye same as ya think expedient with sic ordor and ordinance as ye counsale pleis devis and ordand bayt for ye said chaplane and folkis ya hapin to input in ye said houiss for ye tyme".(34)

In September 1459 sir Andrew Seras, chaplain of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary, took action for the recovery of a rent of 2s from the land "ly masyndow", said to lie in the Green, near the cemetery, bordered on the south by John Howison's land.(35) This is the sole appearance in Aberdeen of a foundation so named. It has been suggested that this was either the Trinitarian hospital or else a property belonging to the Leper House, but the date may be significant. In May of the same year St Thomas' had been founded on the south side of the Netherkirkgate, separated from the parish cemetery by a vennel. The southern boundary of the property was said to be the tenement of John Howison.(36) It would appear that at this early date the new foundation may have been known in common usage as the "Maison Dieu".

### St Clement's

The date of 1498 normally given as the foundation of St Clement's is an exaggeration. It refers only to the collection of moneys from the fishers for the "kirk wark" of the chapel. The Spalding Club edition of Gordon's Description further confuses the history of the chapel by giving the date as 1598, giving rise to secondary sources' description of rebuilding in that year. The Latin version gives the correct date.(37) The earliest reference in the Burgh Court Register appears to be 1467, in which year the chapel was being

thatched.(38) There has been suggestion that Futy derives from a chapel dedicated to a Celtic St Fotinus and that this was the original dedication of St Clement's. In a reference of 1400 John Alanson, smith, appeared before the burgh court "*pro perturbatione ville pulsando campanam Sancti Fotini*".(39) This could, however, be a reference to the chapel on the other shore of the Dee in the village of Torry, which appears in 1499/1500 as "*capella dicti domini abbatis [of Arbroath] apud Torre*". The chapel presumably bore a dedication to St Fotinus who was named as the patron of the village in the royal charter which erected Torry as a burgh of barony in 1495.(40)

On 10 May 1500 six of the masters of the boats of Futy "*et sui consortes familiares*" with the consent of the other inhabitants of Futy, elected sir Duncan Nachty to serve the chapel, which was said to have lacked service for two years. Nachty was to be infeft in certain crofts and to receive 6s from each boat. The provost and council confirmed the election and gave Nachty possession of the service by donation of a staff. The condition of service stipulated that Nachty do divine service for the founders of the service according to use and custom.(41) This would suggest Nachty's chaplainry to have been a fraternity chantry elective by the membership. In common with the craft chantries in the parish church of St Nicholas the burgh council retained the right of confirmation. On Nachty's death sir Thomas Wricht was inducted into the chapel by Alexander Menzies, baillie of Aberdeen, following a mandate by the town council.(42) The fishers maintained a second chaplain, possibly as a curate. On 9 September 1505, the council granted the chapel for life to sir Thomas Lamington, with all offerings, lands and rights, vacant and at their disposal since the death of Ingeram Bannerman. Lamington's successor, sir Alexander Russell, was described as "*oratour*" of Futy, and was obliged to celebrate a mass in the chapel every Friday and Sunday, for which each fisher was to pay 12d annually, a payment described in 1523 as "*the old agreement*".(43)

### The Observantine Franciscan Friary

The last of the four friaries founded in the burgh of Aberdeen, the friars were given lands on the east side of the Gallowgate in 1469.(44) An entry in the burgh court book of 1493/94 makes mention that the friars won some of the stone for their house from the ruins of the castle.(45) The friary was rebuilt on an enlarged scale during the episcopate of Gavin Dunbar (1518-32) under the supervision of Mr Alexander Galloway. Construction was under way by 14 August 1525 when Andrew Fife, pinour, was charged to deliver a load of stones to the friars.(46) The friars preempted the Mearns lairds by resigning their entire possessions to the town council in December 1559, only a few days before the arrival of the Lords of the Congregation.(47) The church was to be converted into a hospital, but this project appears to have been abortive and the church stood derelict until 1624 when it was restored as a parish church.(48) As such it survived until 1903 when it was demolished to make way for the new facade of Marischal College. In common with the Dominican and Carmelite friaries, the domestic buildings of the friary were granted first to the Earl Marischal and by him to the new college in 1593.

### St Ninian's Chapel on the Castle Hill

In a charter of 1313 Robert I granted custody of the forest of the Stocket to the burgesses of Aberdeen, to be held free of interference from any save himself and his Chamberlain. This grant was renewed in 1319 for a feu of £213 6s 8d.(49) It evidently included the site of the recently destroyed royal castle. In his account of the storming of the castle by the burgesses of Aberdeen, Gordon of Rothiemay related that lest the castle again prove "a yock upon the tounsmen's necks, they rased it to the ground, and in place thereof builded a chappell, which they dedicated (according to the fashine of the tymes) to St Niniane; hoping by that meins that the hill being converted to a holy use it wold be unlauffull for any to attempt to apply it againe to a profane use any more." Kennedy's version of the story tells how the burgesses would gather at the chapel on



Sundays, after the morning service, to pray for the souls of the slaughtered English garrison. Although much of Gordon's Description is based upon entries in the burgh registers, it seems likely that this account is no more than a rationalisation of events.(50) As mentioned above a chapel is known to have stood within the thirteenth-century castle, but identification of this with St Ninian's is unlikely. Gordon's story, which put the foundation of the chapel back into the fourteenth century is also debateable.

The forest remained as part of the patrimony of the burgh until 11 December 1493, when James IV granted "le Castellhill de Aberdeyne et le Stoketwod" in blenchferm to Andrew Wood of Over-Blairtoun.(51) This disposal raised the question of the fate of the valuable masonry of the castle walls. In response to the King's letters an assize of the burgesses opted for collective ignorance and declared on 17 February 1493/94 "that thai wyst never nay persone have auay ony stanis hewin nor unhewin of the castall excip the gray frers".(52) The properties of Robert I's grant were too valuable to lose without a struggle, and on 12 May the council elected the alderman Alexander Reid, Sir John Rutherford of Tarland, Alexander Chalmer of Murthill, Alexander Menzies, and John Colison as the burgh's commissaries to ride to Edinburgh. Having considered their appeal and display of rights, on 19 June the Lords of Council delivered in favour of the town. The following day the King ratified the decision.(53) Wood appears to have maintained his claim, as on 28 January 1494/95 the council again determined to defend its rights in the Stocket which, they had been told, had been purchased by Wood.(54) Wood eventually received compensation in June 1495 in the form of a grant to himself and his heirs male of the tronatory of Aberdeen.(55)

The Exchequer Rolls for the year from 23 July 1493 delivered at Edinburgh on 2 July 1494 include a payment of £20 to Robert Blindsel "ad edificationem et reparacionem unius capelle Sancti Niniani in monte castri de Abirdene, de mandato regis". A second payment is recorded in the accounts for 1501.(56) It is possible that Blindsel's foundation was part of an attempt by the burgesses to set their stamp upon the Castlehill and preempt Wood's usurpation. However, on 21 October 1487 Blindsel partially endowed an anniversary

to be celebrated by the curate and chaplains of St Nicholas at the altar of Our Lady for himself and his spouse, Elizabeth Wood. There is no clear evidence that Elizabeth was a kinswoman of Wood of Over-Blairtoun, yet such a relationship would explain the favour shown to Blindsel by the King in the payments towards the construction of the chapel.(57)

It has been stated that the Carmelite friars were chaplains of St Ninian's, but this supposition is founded solely upon the fact that the original charter of Blindsel's endowment of 2 May 1504 was preserved among the muniments of the friary.(58) The endowment makes clear that the chapel was to be served by a secular priest. Patronage was to remain in the hands of the founder and his heirs, who were to present within forty days of a vacancy. By this document Blindsel infeft Mr Thomas Chalmer, master and chaplain of the chapel of St Ninian "noviter constructe super montem castri", in a land in the head of the Shiprow. Chalmer was later to become the curate of St Nicholas'. By 1541 the gift of the chapel had passed to the burgh council who then presented sir John Wright, a chaplain of the parish church.(59)

The Blindsels may have resigned control of the chapel at an early date, as the council are found employing it for a variety of purposes and taking responsibility for its maintenance. If the dilapidated fortifications of the hill were of little value, the chapel could yet be employed as an element of the town's defences. In May 1514 the nightly watch was to be summoned by the chapel's bell to keep guard against possible English invasion. In July 1521 the provost Gilbert Menzies was licensed to take gunpowder from the chapel to assist in the defence of his house and of the town against the hostilities of John, Lord Forbes. As a copy of the foundation is found in the Council Register for January 1524/25, it is likely that the transfer of patronage took place then. In November 1541 a slater and wright were paid by the council for its repair, and in 1565 a further 1200 slates were purchased. Thereafter the chapel was employed for a variety of uses, council chamber, sang school, prison, hospital and store. It survived until 1794, when it was removed in the construction of Castlehill Barracks.(60)

## Blessed Virgin Mary of the Bridge of Dee

A stone bridge over the Dee had been proposed by 12 September 1427 when an indulgence of seven years was granted to those who gave alms to its construction.(61) On 2 December 1459 the council of Aberdeen took up the project once more and appointed Mr John Livingstone, the vicar of Inverugie, as master of work and assigned to the project £20 annually for ten years from the common purse.(62) There is no indication that these attempts progressed far, and it is only with Bishop Elphinstone's project that any detail survives. According to Boece the Bishop engaged skilled craftsmen and collected stone and timber near the site.(63) Yet the project lapsed on his death, probably before anything more than the initial stages had been undertaken. Under his two shortlived successors the project languished and only revived with the advent of the more active Bishop Dunbar and his recovery of the bridge's funds and materials from Elphinstone's executors. Under the supervision of Thomas French, mason at St Machar's and later at St Michael's, Linlithgow, and of Mr Alexander Galloway, the great work was at last brought to fruition in 1527. Dunbar began negotiations with the burgh council which resulted in the assumption by the latter of responsibility for the Bridge and its maintenance, funded by the Bishop's gift of the lands of Ardlair.(64)

The chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary is first recorded on 9 January 1530/1, when the former chaplain, sir William Ray, displayed the ornaments of the service to the burgh court, including a chalice and an image of Our Lady, both of gilded silver, towels and other cloths, and also the key to the offering box.(65) The chapel was presumably built in association with the Bridge of Dee during the 1520s, and stood close by it, if it was not an integral part of the structure. In February 1530/31 the laird of Abergeldie protested to the council for "ane esy gait and passage betuix the brig of Dee and chapell of the samyn" to be made for the convenience of his fishing. In March the town took the laird to law for his "cutting of the bulwark of the brig of Dee, maid for sawite of the cheppale of the samyn".(66) Patronage appears from this reference to have been in the hands of the burgh, a supposition reinforced by the occurrence of the chalice

in the 1559 inventory of the chalices and other gear in the care of the council.(67) Presumably the gift came to the town with the transfer of the bridge and the lands of Ardlair. Ray, the only recorded chaplain, was an altarist in St Nicholas'. However, this was not the sole chaplainry at the Bridge. On 15 December 1550 William Forbes, son of Elizabeth Leith and Mr John Forbes, received a grant of the barony of Ruthrieston, with the advocacy of additional chaplainries at the Bridge, and at the altar of St Lawrence in the parish church of Aberdeen.(68) Little else is forthcoming concerning the chapel, and by 1661 it had been removed.(69)

CHAPTER FIVE

THE COLLEGE OF ST NICHOLAS

Within many churches the growth in the number of celebrants at side altars lent itself to the elaboration of choral services and the emergence of a corporation of chaplains and choristers enjoying common endowments. In burgh kirks the formation and ultimate constitution of these corporations as colleges was more a result of prolonged accretion and evolution than the considered action typifying many collegiate colleges. The kirks of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Haddington, Stirling and Peebles attained the eventual dignity of a provostry, but all had long possessed many of the other essential characteristics of a chantry corporation.(1) The emergence of a corporation or college of chantry priests in St Nicholas' predated its formal constitution as a collegiate church by at least a century. Although there are relatively few references to the chaplains acting as a body prior to 1480, it is clear that they did so in the daily celebration of the hours and anniversary masses. So early as 1438, the obit of sir John Kinghorn, vicar of Aberdeen, stipulated that the offices of the dead should be celebrated by twelve chaplains.(2) The earliest reference to the staff of the choir as a college occurs on 10 Apr 1480, when Mr Thomas Stane appears as proctor "nomine capellanorum collegii".(3) In earlier references such as February 1475/76 they are styled simply as the chaplains of Aberdeen.(4) This first usage of the term "college" was perhaps a consequence of a conscious identity fostered by the continuous endowment of the town's choristers in common funds, and of a demand to match the rebuilding of the choir with promotion in status. From 1480 the term "collegium" was commonly employed by the burgh, the chapter, and donors, although their description as simply "the curate and chaplains of the choir" persisted. Collectors and other officials were thereafter denoted as "of the college of St Nicholas". On at least two occasions, in 1491 and 1527, charters described the community as an "ecclesia collegiata", although it was to be many years before the full conditions implied by this title were to be met.(5)

The composition of the college of St Nicholas' is never clearly stated, yet it is apparent that, other than the vicar and curate, the main body of chaplains and singers were those in the employ of the burgh council. These burgh choristers comprised "feft chaplaynis"

serving altars in the gift of the town, and "feit chaplaynis" sustained by the common good. A third body was formed by the parish or quarter clerkships of the burgh, generally filled by boys or young men, but not infrequently by chaplains. Further choristers were supported by pensions drawn from the more profitable altars and clerkships. Record of the hiring of individual choristers is plentiful, yet only a handful of the Dean of Gild's accounts survive to illustrate the total number of singers and other staff hired by the town at any one time. The Compt of 1548 to 1551 lists the masters of the grammar and sang schools, Mr Hugh Monro, sir John Fethy and sir John Black, eight other chaplains, and two boys or men not dignified by a title. Of the eight chaplains, three held burgh chantries, sir Robert Spark the altar of St Duthac, sir Alexander Leslie that of St John Baptist, or possibly St Michael, and sir John Colison the Blessed Virgin Mary.(6) By the late fifteenth century the burgh could sustain chaplains on the revenues of at least six chaplainries, St Duthac, St Michael, St Peter, the Holy Rood, the Blessed Virgin, and the hospital of St Thomas Martyr, and which served in practice, if not in name, as choral prebends. These might be supplemented by occasional windfalls in the form of temporary reversion of presentation to the burgh through the failure of a private patron to fill a vacant chaplainry within the stipulated period. The council further exercised control over the the craft chaplainries of the Hammermen and Wrights. To what extent college, burgh chorister and private chaplain coincided is unclear. It is unlikely that any defined prebendal system operated, but that provision to a stall in the choir was administered on an ad hoc basis, some choristers holding one or more burgh or private service, others supported by a combination of the common good, clerkships or pensions from richer altarages. The thirty-four stalls commissioned by the burgh in December 1507 indicates a body considerably larger than that infest or hired by the burgh council alone, and would accommodate all altarists, choristers and clerks of the church, both burghal and private.(7) This would be in accord with private patrons' customary stipulation that their chaplains should serve in the general hours of the choir, the latters' incentive presumably a share in the commons. The college statutes of 1491 named twenty-two chaplains as members, yet even so, the list did not include a number

of others known to been active within St Nicholas' at this period, such as Irvine of Drum's altarist, sir John Chalmer. An undated statute prior to 1514 further restricted membership to sixteen. The discrepancy between the restricted numbers contained in the statutes and the number of stalls points to the existence of an inner college within the choir. This may have been a device to restrict the numbers benefitting in the common distribution, but it is no indication of a reduction of the total numbers serving within the church.(8)

According to Bishop Ingeram's statutes the duties of the staff and services of the church were to be subject to the government of the vicar, curate and others senior of the church. The vicar was commonly an absentee, and until the erection of the provost-vicarage in 1540, the post of president of the chapter was filled by the curate, who in association with the burgh authorities supervised the service of the choir and enforced discipline.(9)

The chaplains' Register preserves a series of collections of statutes by which the daily service of the church and the affairs of the college were administered. These make clear that a college was in existence long before the chaplains dignified their corporation with the title. The earliest surviving corpus was given by Bishop Ingeram Lindsay (1441-1459). Unfortunately this cannot be more precisely dated, which inhibits attempts to relate them with contemporary burgh council statutes imposed upon those clerics in the service of the town. Lindsay did not ascribe any formal title to the clergy of St Nicholas' and styled them simply a "community". He laid down that the vicar-chaplain of the parish was to meet with all other chaplains and hired staff in the chapter of the church at nine o'clock every Saturday, and to compose a table setting out the duties of each member in the following week. The chapter was presided over by the vicar, curate and other senior staff of the church, to whom was entrusted maintenance and correction of discipline, except in serious matters, which were to be referred to the official and the bishop. In all other matters of debate, the decisions of these senior members was held to be binding. A respectable appearance was held to be of importance, all chaplains to be clad in clean surplices on Sundays



and festivals, when music accompanied services. A statute of 1508 by the curate and the chaplains prohibited any priest, clerk, or singer from entry to the choir without their habit under pain of a fine of 2d and 4d for the first and second offences by a priest, and half this for a clerk. A third offence would result in deprivation of commons. According to Lindsay's statutes the "maior et sanior pars" were to appoint collectors to deal with the finances of the community, which were to be equally distributed only to those personally present at services. The chapter supervised all those beneficed chaplains maintained by a chantry within the parish church, and was empowered to compel their conformity with the terms of their deed of foundation, under pain of ecclesiastical censure. Hired chaplains refusing to accept those duties delegated by the chapter were to be excluded from the choir during time of service and to be denied any share in the common distribution of dues from masses, funerals and offices for the dead. For those, however, who for any good reason, infirmity or otherwise, were unable to serve on any occasion, provision was made to have another member act in his place at the command of the vicar or curate, without prejudice to his share in the commons.(10)

If the bishop's statutes were intended to foster the growth of a cohesive chantry college under the discipline of its own chapter, such a development was restricted by the authority of the burgh as the major employer. The alderman, baillies and council retained the supervision and correction of those individuals, hired or beneficed, in the service of the burgh. In practice the choir was a dependency of the burgh council, and the actions of its chapter consequently subject to its approval. The chapter appears to have been content to cooperate with the council, both for reason of the munificence of the burgh as patron, and the close kinship that bound both parties.

In 1447 the council ordained that "alsweil the feit chaplaynis and the feft chaplaynis sal be rewlit and governyt and trespasouris correctit be the sight of the alderman and counsaile forsaide or ellis the agaynstandaris of this statute sal nocht be maynetenyt be the maisteres".(11) The principal concern of the council was to maintain choir services of suitable scale and dignity, and in this it

held authority even over chaplains of private services. In October 1453 the council ordained that both "feit and feft" chaplains, or those hired by men of the town, unless with good reason given to the alderman and the corrector of the choir, were to take part in the celebration of the hours, matins, high mass and evensong. Unlicensed absence from three consecutive services would result in exclusion from the church, a year's prohibition from singing mass, and in the case of altarists, forfeiture of their service.(12)

The relationship between burgh and choir was not solely one of ordinance and remonstrance. In 1458, the alderman and baillies, having considered the good service of the vicar and chaplains in the church, and in hope of its continuation, granted the privilege, albeit posthumous, that those diligent in their duty, should have their burial lairs in whatever part of the church should please them.(13)

A further set of regulations, reiterating and supplementing those of Bishop Lindsay, was composed in 1491, and set out the obligations and duties of the college chaplains, with particular emphasis upon service within the choir. The chapter was to elect a writer to note the faults of each individual, this record to be presented at each Saturday chapter. Attendance at the weekly chapter was compulsory, so as to prevent any member's pleading ignorance of his duties. Failure to attend was punishable by a fine, as was absence without lawful impediment from processions or feasts, all hours for a whole day, or failure of the deputed chaplain to celebrate the Holy Blood mass in Lent. Unless ill or on errands of state with licence of the president of the chapter, a chaplain who was present in the town yet who failed to attend for an entire week was to be excluded from the distribution of all commons for one year. Maintenance of the quality and dignity of service was of great matter. Membership of the college was to be restricted to choristers, able in plain song, anthems, responsaries, versicles, epistles, gospels, masses and legends. Of an appended list of twenty-two chaplains of the college including the curate, sir David Waus, all but two are known to have held a chantry or served another chapel in Aberdeen. Under pain of the standard fines, "the chaplains not members of the college shall

grace the choir in their habits on holy days". Fines were imposed for failure to keep the tune. No chaplain was to leave the choir before the conclusion of a service without leave of the president, vicar, curate or collector, and his late arrival would constitute absence. Conversation in the choir in time of the service was to be fined. No mass was to be sung unless attended by twelve persons and the celebrating priest. The proliferation of private chantries necessitated regulation, and masses at side altars were forbidden during processions. The choir books were restricted to the choir, any chaplain, whether of the college or not would be fined for their removal. The potential revenue of the college was protected by a ban upon any chaplain purchasing to himself any service from which the corporation as a whole might profit. The college catered also for the spiritual welfare of its own, and celebrated a general anniversary at the high altar for its deceased members and during the following week for those living. If a chaplain of the college died without leaving goods enough to cover the cost of his burial and funeral, this expense would be borne by the college, as would that of lay persons accepted into the fraternity of the college, if dying in similar circumstances. The collector of the college was to present a quarterly account of the fines levied upon offenders and make payment of all the college's rents and annuals. On making his final account on the Saturday before Michaelmas each year he was to resign his office to another. So that every member might know the lands and rents of the college no chaplain was to hold the post of collector for more than a year at a time. In practice this tended to be held by an individual for a number of years. Sir Alexander Vocat had acted as collector from 1481 until his death in 1489, sir Matthew Nicholson from 1491 until 1495. Only thereafter was some degree of conformity imposed, between 1500 and 1520 some eleven individuals filling the office.(14)

The chapter house, in which the chaplains of the choir met, is probably to be identified with a structure on the north side of the choir which after the Reformation became the Session-house. This was presumably an element of the late fifteenth-century reconstruction of the choir, although references to the chaplains meeting in chapter occur in Lindsay's statutes. The vault beneath

this served as the treasury of the church, and was also employed by the burgh as a strongroom for the preservation of the town's charter chest and other evidents. The chapter house was itself frequently used for meetings of the burgh council.(15)

Further statutes, probably to be dated between 1509 and 1514, were published in the cathedral chapter and ratified by Bishop Elphinstone with the consent of the brethren of St Nicholas'. These restricted the number of the college in all time to sixteen. On the demise of a member another fit chorister was to be chosen with consent of the whole college. The rationale behind this move is not explained, but may be a reaction to the swelling number of chantrists attached to the church and the consequent threat posed to individual shares of the common revenue. Only twelve members appended their signatures to these statutes. Elphinstone further confirmed statutes made by Bishop Spens, which in turn confirmed, and are presumably identical with, those of Bishop Lindsay.(16)

The statutes of 14 July 1519 reiterated earlier enactments and added detail to others. Chaplains were forbidden to celebrate mass at side altars during High Mass or preaching. The conventional plan of the choir stalls is made clear in an ordinance that no clerk not in holy orders was to presume to enter the principal seats of the choir during time of service, but to take his place in the front row appointed for the boys of the choir. Those found guilty of revealing confidential business of the college and chapter to non-members were to be deprived of their commons, and barred from entry to the chapter and access to its secrets for the next year.(17)

The importance of the public deportment and behaviour of the clergy demanded regulation in almost petty detail. The post of weekly recorder of faults ordained by Bishops Lindsay and Elphinstone appears repeatedly in acts of the chapter. In the presence of a notary acting for the dean of Aberdeen, on 5 Sept 1518 the college of St Nicholas' convened in chapter to elect a collector for the following year and to consider the observance of its statutes and foundations. The sole act which has been preserved refers to the

college proctor's record of unlicensed or unsubstituted absentees from the offices of the dead and from the other private masses celebrated throughout the week.(18)

In January 1528/29 the burgh council appointed four lay burgesses as collectors of the fees due to "all the tounis feallis singlaris, baith prestis and clerkis". The council decreed that all the fees assigned by the town should be copied into a rental to be delivered into the care of these collectors and the moneys disbursed quarterly. The collectors were to supervise the fault book, and to cause "tua chaplanis of the said Queir that best kepis goddis service" to swear upon the gospels to record faithfully all faults of the hired singers in daily services and in the additional masses of the Holy Blood, the Rood, Our Lady and St Nicholas. In accordance with an ordinance contained in the burgh statute book, faults would be fined and deducted from the quarterly fee awarded to each chaplain. Any not singing, or noted as talking, or else departing before the conclusion of the service would be regarded as an absentee from that mass. The appended scale of fines rose with the solemnity of the occasion - a fault on a ferial day, 2d, a holy day, 4d, and each principal feast, 8d.(19) Minutes of a chapter of 1 October 1530 note the appointment of sir David Waus and sir Robert Spark as recorders for the following quarter of the names and dates of attendance of those who talked, laughed, or idled in the choir, or were irregular in their attendance. They were to note those paying insufficient attention to the service, beginning the responsaries or antiphons without the command of the chanter, or failing altogether in their duties. The chapter fulfilled the role of arbiter in disputes between its members. Should any debate arise among the staff of the church, this was to be brought before the chapter for pacification. Any arguing in the choir or elsewhere, or throwing injurious words at others were to be fined.(20)

The daily rote of service was a potential breeding ground of boredom and slovenliness. Either in clerk's or priest's orders, the chaplains of the college enjoyed a privileged status which guaranteed them exemption from physical correction or public humiliation. In the case of faults too minor to justify reference to the church

courts this limited the possibilities of corrective measures to the imposition of fiscal deprivation. Where servants of the church were not protected by their clerical status, the indignities of correction offered no such constraint. The office of sacristan was commonly held by a chaplain assisted by deputies to whom fell the more onerous tasks of grave-digging and bell-ringing. The statutes of 1491 admonished these assistants to keep to the hours appointed by the chapter for the ringing of the bells, under pain of confinement in the stocks.(21)

The early sixteenth century saw further physical expression of the college's sense of identity. A statute of 5 September 1518, which applied fines for absence to the building or repair of the chaplains' common dwelling, was followed a year later by the donation of £24 by Alexander Malison to the same project. This was apparently a tenement in the head of the Shiprow. On 24 December 1520 the curate and chaplains of St Nicholas' bound themselves to celebrate a Mass of the Passion of the Virgin Mary every Friday at the altar of St Mary of Piety in the crypt in return for Mr David Menzies' donation of £21 towards the same purpose. The Common Rental of 26 March 1521 described the chaplains' land as newly built. These are the first of a series of donations and grants which continued over a period of some ten years, reflecting the progress of an enterprise prompted by the need to accommodate the humbler members of the choir and by aspirations towards the communal existence of other secular colleges.(22)

Within the Cartulary there are entered a number of rentals detailing properties owing revenues to the chaplains of the choir for the celebration of anniversaries, weekly masses and other special services. The earliest of these was drawn up by sir John Stirling in 1491. A second, compiled by sir Andrew Coupar and with later revisions, was further amended and updated by William Philipson and inserted in the Register in 1521. At this date the celebration of anniversaries and special masses, including the Holy Blood Mass supported by the alderman and baillies, brought the college over £80 a year before deduction of sums paid for lights, bells, boy-choristers, and distributions to the poor or scholars.(23) The

Cartularium, or chaplains' Register, was a response to the corporation's need to gather its numerous records and evidents and to provide an easily accessible source of reference for use in the continual litigation to which it was compelled to resort. The first external evidence for its existence occurs on 10 May 1522 when sir Walter Blair endowed an anniversary to be celebrated by his fellow chaplains in accordance with his foundation of 5 May, inserted "in registro dictorum capellanorum". Thereafter the volume was produced in the burgh court on several occasions as evidence.(24) Inevitably, it came to be the repository of a wide range of documents relative to the college and church of St Nicholas, and several miscellaneous items. It thus contains, besides the various statutes and obituaries, notes of benefactors of the church and foundation charters of altars and obits.

By the sixteenth century fully developed choral corporations had emerged in most burgh kirks. The 1540s saw a wave of collegiate foundations in which town councils played a leading part. In 1543 a provostry was erected in the small burgh kirk of Cullen as the result of collaboration between Alexander Dick, archdeacon of Glasgow, Duff of Muldavit, and the council of the town. The same year Peebles erected a provostry within the parish church of St Andrew. These did not involve the major rebuilding necessary at Biggar in 1546, but simple adoption of existing chaplainries as prebends, following the example of St Giles' of Edinburgh in the previous century. In 1546 the baillies, council, and community of Stirling, with a number of temporal lords, petitioned for the erection to collegiate status of the church of the Holy Rood, and the appointment of the vicar as president of its choristers and of those chaplains outwith the choir. The president was to have authority to regulate service within the church and to impose fines upon altarists in breach of their foundations. Between 1540 and 1546 St Mary's of Haddington followed suit.(25)

The eventual constitution of the vicarage of St Nicholas' as a provostry, and its formal elevation to the status of a collegiate church is an event that survives only in a brief entry in the council register of 12 January 1614/15 which records the gift of 28 March

1540. "The Quhilk day Maister Alexander Cullen gawe in and exhibit in presence of the prowest and baillies and counsall ane gift of the vicarage off Sanct Nicolas kirk of Aberdene with all and sindrie the fruictis oblationes and rentis thairof vsit and wount gewin be vmquhill Willeame Gordoun Bischop off Aberdeine with consent of the Deane and Chapture thairof to the College of the Chaplenis of the said Sanct Nicolas kirk and thair successouris for sustentatioun of ane prouest to serve perpetuallie in the said kirk To be callit in all tyme thaireftir ane prowestrie". Although placed among the towns evidents, the actual document is now lost.(26) No further details of this foundation are known, beyond the fact that a proportion of the vicarage fruits were retained by the bishop to support six choir boys in the Cathedral.(27) Thereafter a number of the choir of St Nicholas' were styled "prebendary" or as holding a stall. In 1544 sir John Fethy was hired as a prebendary of the choir and to have the rule of the sang school and organs for a fee of £20.(28) However, despite the terms of Gordon's grant, neither Mr Andrew Cullen, nor sir John Colison (II), who subsequently held the vicarage are referred to as provost. Such innovative titles as were employed are unlikely to indicate a major restructuring of the existing constitution.(29)

It is probable, in common with the other foundations of the period, that the burgh council was the sponsor of the provostry, conceivably profiting from Bishop Gordon's dispersal of episcopal possessions. The council remained the principal patron of the choir, and the chapter dependent upon its approval for admissions to its ranks. On 16 November 1556 sir John Black, Fethy's successor as master of the sang school, related that the brethren of the choir and college "being chepdourlie convenit affermit obefoir in presens of the prouest baillies and haill consell that thair is certane roumes and places vacand amangis thame for qualifeit persenis to be resavit and admittit therto be the avyse of the saidis prowest baillies and consell."(30) At a further meeting of the council and chapter, on 8 October 1558, the chaplains of the kirk agreed to pay the singer, Richard Reid, the commons of the stall formerly held by Mr James Chalmer as master of the grammar school. Chalmer had been



discharged by the town on accepting the post of regent at King's College. The council now undertook to assist the chaplains in their defence against Chalmer's attempted recovery of the stall.(31)

CHAPTER SIX

THE BURGH OF ABERDEEN  
AND THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS

In 1508 the council of Aberdeen ordained that all perpetual chaplainries in its gift and the hospital of St Thomas should thenceforth be "gevin perpetualie tile sangstaris that can syng plane sang and prik sang at the lest and speciale to barnis burges sonnys and native menne borne of the toune before ale uthiris".(1) The importance of a chantry in the gift of the burgh was as a major supplementary source of revenue in the financing of the choir. In 1527 the provost and council of St Andrews had the presentation of at least seven altarages, and by 1538 twelve.(2) The total in the direct gift of the town of Aberdeen fluctuated in the fifteenth century with its grants of patronage to secure augmentation of declining rentals, but by 1500 the number had stabilised at about ten - Our Lady, the Holy Rood, St John Evangelist, St John Baptist, St Michael, St Peter, St Duthac, St Ninian, and St Eloy, and outwith the parish church the chapels of St Thomas and St Clement, to which was later added St Ninian's on the Castlehill. The council of Peebles itself endowed a chaplain in honour of St John Baptist in St Andrews' parish church, but such an action was untypical, and councils depended upon windfalls.(3)

Where its patronage was threatened, the council responded with some vigour. In December 1504 James and Robert Kennerty were convicted "for contempcione agane the toune conspiracioun pretending tham to mak derogacioune of the tounis patronag of Sanct Duthac altar".(4) In 1471-1472 the council successfully defended its service of St Michael against the claims of the heirs of the founder, Mr John Clatt.(5) In 1477 the Hammermen were granted the patronage of St Eloy's altar under the town's privy seal, yet in 1493 the council denied the craft's claims and continued to present chaplains of its choice.(6) In 1516 it made an unsuccessful attempt to gain the presentation of the Magdalen altar which had been annexed to King's College as a burse in Civil Law.(7)

The council's reservoir of patronage, and its powers of dismissal of both hired and, to a lesser extent, beneficed choristers, formed the basis of its authority over the college. Expectative presentations maintained a qualified staff by the lure of future advancement. In 1461 the council undertook to give the first chaplainry at its

disposal to sir Alexander Vocat, yet he was still awaiting promotion in 1471.(8) On his resignation in 1506 of his right to the Rutherfurd service of St Michael, sir Richard Anderson was given a pension of five merks until it was possible to find him a chaplainry of £5 value. He still held this pension in 1522, by which time he had sought employment elsewhere.(9)

Where incentive failed to maintain discipline and standards of service, the council of Aberdeen employed punitive measures. On 13 January 1532/33 the council voted unanimously to discharge all but one of its singers of the choir from the following Candlemass "for thair demeritis bigane done to God and tham". The exception was the former organist, sir Andrew Coupar, "that is ane agit man and hes bene ane ald servand to the tovun".(10) On 12 October 1537 and 8 October 1547 the council again discharged all of its singers for unspecified reasons, and commanded the dean of gild to withhold their fees until otherwise directed.(11) The burgh of Aberdeen was not alone in dissatisfaction with the demeanour of its choir. On 7 May 1543 the council of Ayr determined not to pay any chaplain of the choir in time coming, other than the schoolmaster, as the town "has utheris their common works on hand mair necessar to be done to waire these guds upoun, and als has certain causses and fatis to lay to the saidis chaplainis chargis". Those chaplains holding chaplainries within the church were to continue in their service, but were to be warned that if "thai be ortain with ony hie displeasure again the gud toun, and envismen of the samen, that benefice sall be taken fra them and disponit to ane uther mare qualifeit tharefore".(12) There is no record of particular charges in these cases, and it may be that Aberdeen's actions were similarly dictated in large part by reasons of economy, as in August 1478 when the chaplains' pensions were redirected to the kirk work.(13)

The authority of the burgh corporation was not unchallenged. In the early 1520s St Nicholas' gave rise to a series of dissident clerics. On 20 November 1520 the council alleged that its chaplain of the Holy Rood, sir John Fife, had failed to keep continual service in the choir, was seditious in nature, and had sowed discord among both the inhabitants of the town and the brethren of the church. Evidently

his actions had resulted in violence, as on the same day, the council undertook arrangements with the diocesan authorities for the cleansing and reconciliation of the church. It was alleged that Fife had been the cause of such suspension on two previous occasions. It was further decided that he be discharged and another singer hired in his place. Nevertheless, he was suffered to remain until 3 March 1521/22, when the council, with only one dissenting vote, elected to replace him at the termination of his contract at Candlemass.(14) Despite this, Fife was apparently reconciled with his masters and continued to serve the Rood altar until his death.

The cause of Fife's discontent was not stated, yet the accusation of sedition is suggestive of a connection with two cases in the following years. Mr John Marschell received the rule of the grammar school in 1509. On 13 January 1521/22 he appeared before his patrons and reversed his "compulsator of Rome", evidently in submission to the burgh. On 20 April 1523 he protested that the council "suld not be displassit at him nor take his contrer part for he offerit him rady to do tham steid and service at his power and protestit that thai suld mak him na now nowatioun bot keip auld ws and wont". The matter dragged on until November of the same year, when he admitted that he had offended his masters of the town, sought their pardon, and confessed that "he haid the schoull of thame and suld hald the samyn lik as his predicessouris haid doune in tyme bigane". In the name of the burgh the provost then received him once more into the favour of the town "promittand to be him a gud master in tyme cuming he being tham a gud servand as accords him to do".(15)

The curate, Mr Thomas Chalmer, served the town's altar of Our Lady, and like Fife was the son of a burgess. On 28 July 1522 the council ordained that the provost should petition the bishop and vicar for the dismissal of the curate, "for sundry and diverse faults he has oft committed against their common weil, and principally for the bringing of ane new novatioun accepannd the fundacionis of the altaris to be at the papis gift, and many other faults committed by him that are against his office."(16) Within a few months of each other both Marschell and Chalmer, graduates and holding prominent positions in

the burgh and kirk, through either conviction or simple ambition had called the authority of the burgh into question. No more is recorded on the matter, and, like Fife, Marschell and Chalmer continued to serve the town and died in possession of their services.

As well as those stents placed upon trade and burgess entries which built and furnished the choir, the kirk derived a steady trickle of lesser contributions from fines imposed in the baillie court. The common penalty imposed for breach of the peace or contravention of the burgh's market regulations was a monetary fine, varying between 5s and £10 Scots, a portion or all of which was applied to the kirk work or to the support of the altar lights of St Nicholas' or the illumination of the Holy Sacrament. Fines for a first offence commonly took the form of a candle to be delivered to the Holy Blood light, sometimes with an additional monetary penalty. A variety of minor offences such as failure to supply St Nicholas' bread merited a 10s fine. On 9 October 1444 William Matheson was convicted for offence done to John Galt, for which he was ordered to uphold the Lady Mass on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays for one year. If either party transgressed again he would be amerced of £10 to the kirkwork.(17) A second standard fine was paid in 1463 by David Patrickson, a burgess of the town found guilty of rebellion against the authority of the alderman. Patrickson was confined in the tolbooth overnight, and commanded to appear in the parish church at the time of high mass on the following Sunday, barefoot and "with his gowne louse", bearing a wax candle of a pound weight. There he was to ask forgiveness of the alderman and council, and to offer the candle to the high altar. On this occasion the offender was also bound to donate a pint of wine each week for a year to the uses of the church.(18)

In addition to maintenance of the church fabric and furnishings, the council upheld the daily celebration of matins, high mass, evensong, and other services. In 1465 and 1466 the council ordained that the sung mass of the sacrament at the high altar should be continued for another year by its choristers. From 1491 the college was assigned six merks from the fermes of the burgh for its celebration of this weekly mass, and in 1508 a pension of eight merks of the Justice

Mills was made over to the curate and chaplains for twelve years, as the town was in debt to them for the maintenance of this mass every Monday for several years past. In 1522 the burgh further charged the singers to continue in the singing of a "gloriosa" after matins and a "salve" after evensong.(19) The council availed itself of a miscellany of imposts and customary payments in its support of church services. In December 1533 the town called upon all tacksmen to continue in their customary payment of a wax candle to the lights of the major altars of Our Lady, St Nicholas, and the Holy Rood - the Raik and the Don, three candles, the Midchingle, two, the Pot, Furds and Cruives, one, each to be of a half-pound weight, and to bear the mark of the donor.(20)

Until the erection of the provostry in 1540, the vicar was rarely resident, and the burden of cure was borne by the curate. The administration of the seven sacraments in a town of the size of Aberdeen was a major responsibility, and the curate was on occasion assisted by a deputy. In 1504 sir John Caldour appears as assistant to sir William Morison.(21) The religious education of the town lacks the documentation of the continual cycle of intercessionary masses and the celebration of the canonical hours. The mendicant orders were probably actively engaged in the propagation of religious knowledge to the common people of the parish. Although not as renowned for their preaching ability as the mendicants, the seculars of the town were also active. Mr John Cruden, a graduate of Köln, received payments in 1446/7 for his work preaching in the town.(22) Mr John Watson, who held the town's altarage of St Michael until his death in 1559, was a graduate in theology, and received a canonry of Aberdeen cathedral in return for his services as a preacher.(23)

Social compulsion towards church attendance predated the Calvinist theocracy. In October 1533 the council ordained "that quhatsumever freman within this guid toun being within the toun haill in his persoun and beis notit tua Sondagis togidder fra his parochie kirk sall pay viii s to the bailzeis unlaw unforgevin". This fine was to be applied to the kirkwork.(24) The burgh took responsibility for the enforcement of the contribution of St Nicholas' bread on Sundays and other feast days. Persons named on an agreed list were warned

by the sacristan to supply the bread on the following day. By a statute of October 1533 those failing to do so without lawful impediment were to be fined the amount received for the bread on the previous occasion. Should the sacristan fail to warn an individual he was to be fined on the same basis.(25) Failure to participate in public celebrations was also amerçiable. At Epiphany each household of the parish was visited by the curate attended by acolytes bearing censers, and was expected to make a monetary offering. The council ordained that any member of the gild or deacon of a craft refusing to receive them was to pay the same amount as that paid by the previous neighbour.(26)

The burgh council was the first authority to which the vicar and the college appealed for assistance in their claims. In 1546 the baillies of the town called upon all neighbours of the town "that bes nocht cumin at Pasche to thair vicar for paying of thair dwety conforme to the auld louabill vse of this guid toun", to come within forty-eight hours so that he would have no cause to complain against them in a spiritual court. In the event of failure of payment, the baillies were content that the vicar, at this date Mr Andrew Cullen, should pursue the defaulters before the spiritual jurisdiction and undertook to assist him in this.(27)

In association with the curate the council, as principal patron, supervised the fabric and furnishings of the church. It retained the right to grant licence for new altars and endowments. In 1490 the council licensed Andrew Murray's construction of an altar on the south side of the church, and in 1511/12 for David Anderson's altar on the south side of the choir.(28) The council arbitrated in disputes between both chaplains and patrons. In 1470 the council confirmed John Fife and Andrew Alanson in the patronage of their respective chantries and their endowments at the altar of the Magdalen, and "sua that eny man that giffis indowment or feftment to the saide altar sal be maysteris and patrownis of thair awin gift".(29) In 1475 members of the burgh clergy collaborated with the council in resolving the division of offerings to the two altars of the Holy Rood disputed by their respective chaplains.(30)



On 18 April 1547 it was agreed that on the following Sunday the council of Aberdeen should pass with the curate and the chaplain of the burgh's service of St Michael to inspect the vestments and ornaments of the altar and to cause any faults to be corrected at the town's expense. The same day it was ordained that the fathers or masters of whatever persons, young men, servants, bairns or craftsmen who broke any window of the kirk or choir, or slates of the kirk lodge, should be held responsible and should mend the same at their own expense.(31) On 18 April 1550 all chaplains of the town's foundations were warned to assemble the following morning in the chapter house, each bearing the chalices, vestments and ornaments of their services, to allow the compilation of an inventory detailing the altarages' possessions.(32) In 1555 Mr Thomas Annan, chaplain of the altar of St John Evangelist, was ordered to display two chalices belonging to the chaplainry and to the town as its patron "becaus he hes absentit the same thir diuerse yeiris bygane".(33) It was ordained by the council of Linlithgow that on their entry to office the provost and baillies should inspect each of the town's altars and consider the state of their vestments, chalices, books and other ornaments. Where these required repair, this should be done where possible by the chaplains, whom failing, put to the charge of the common good. The ornaments and other gear of the high altar and choir, which were the responsibilty of the parish clerk, were to be similarly examined by the council, and inventoried annually.(34)

In October 1529 the council made statute for the security of the church. The principal sacristan and the curate alone were to have the keys of the kirk overnight, the latter to enable him "to pas and repas for ministratioun of the sacrament quhen tyme requiris". Presumably to avoid confusion, the ringing of bells other than those in the kirk was forbidden, and only the master of the kirkwork was to have a key to the steeple door. No other was to have access to the steeple without his or the town's licence. Under pain of the deprivation of the principal sacristan fire brought within the church was to be restricted to a bowl in the wall beside the altar of SS Crispin and Crispinian.(35)

Burial within the walls of the church was a privilege generally restricted to the wealthy. In 1401 the council ordained that burgesses who desired that their deceased sons should have the privilege of burial within the kirk should make payment according to the child's age, for those under seven, 5s, under fifteen, 6s 8d, and over fifteen, 10s. In 1509 each freeman or woman was to pay 20s for their lair, while those of the old blood of the burgh would be charged according to their wealth.(36) The behaviour of the council's staff of the kirk was not always that which merited the wholesale discharges of the 1530s and 1540s. On 9 October 1458 the alderman and council declared themselves well pleased with the good service maintained by the vicar and chaplains. In hope of its continuation, the council ordained that the members of the choir "sall have thair lairs quhen thai decess free in quhat place of the kirk it plesis thaim to ly of thair devocioun".(37) The seemliness of the church and its surrounding cemetery were protected by the council and the sacristan, the latter answerable to the master of kirk work. In 1509 the sacristan was admonished not to open up the ground within the kirk to make graves without the leave of the master of kirk work, under pain of a 20s fine. He was further to ensure that the disturbance created in gravedigging was to be cleared away.(38)

In January 1512/13 the waulkers of the burgh were commanded to refrain from hanging cloths upon the walls of the kirk, on the kirk dikes or within the yard under pain of an 8s fine for the first two offences, and thereafter confiscation of the offending articles.(39) The kirkyard was walled in an attempt to exclude the livestock of the burgh, and access to it was gained only by a series of stiles. On 13 October 1531 the council ordained that animals found in the kirkyard were to be pounded, and the fine extracted from the owners kept by the sacristan and his servant.(40) Appointed as "pundler" in May 1533 George Annan was warned that should he fail in his duties he would be held in the stocks at the will of the council.(41)

Misbehaviour within the kirk was dealt with by the baillie court. Gavin Uschar was summoned but failed to appear in December 1536 on a charge of disturbance within the church.(42) Violence within the

kirk was a repeated cause of disruption and prompted the council's condemnation of sir John Fife's conduct in November 1520. The council was asked "quhat thai intendit do tuching the polutioun and suspentioun of thar kerk gif thai wald mak expenss and cost one the new reconciliatioun of the samyn that suffrage and service ma be doune for thar progenitours and forbears efter the tennor of thar honorable and noble fundacioun maid be thaim of gud mynd of lang tyme abefor". The council unanimously decided against this "for that war occacioun and preparatif to uthiris to commyt sic offens in tyme tocum", and to complain to the bishop.(43) On 30 March 1525 the baillie court was suspended "be causs of cuming of my lord of Abirdene to the reconciliatioun of our kirk".(44) The baillie court dealt with lesser offences of irreverence. On 14 November 1531 John Anderson was fined "because he was found in the vedding kirk dur with his bonat on his heid, quhilk was hallowit place and kirk".(45)

The door of the kirk was a natural point of congregation for the destitute who hoped to benefit from the alms of parishioners attending daily services, or else to share in the distribution of food and drink or money that rewarded those poor who attended anniversary masses and other services. Vagrants were commonly regarded as a threat to law and order. On 18 May 1546 it was ordained that the baillies and others of the council should pass in the afternoon to the kirkyard to examine the beggars there. There they would "considder quhay is natiue within the toune and quhay nocht and sa mony as tha find natiue, and admittis to gif thame the tounis takyn as tha sall think expedient and ordinit all wther begaris to be chargit to dewoid the towne within twenty four hours nixt efter" under pain of branding on the cheek.(46)

In August and September of the same year this ordinance was repeated in order to protect the burgh from the pestilence that had taken hold of the south of the kingdom. The prophylactic qualities of even the most stringent ordinances were of only limited efficacy. Those infected were either expelled from the town to the Links, or else inclosed within their houses. In October those suffering from the pest were granted the bread silver of St Nicholas' for their sustenance.(47) In May 1546 the master of the kirk work, David

Anderson, was given licence to emerge from his back gate and his seclusion once or twice each day to supervise the sowing of his crops and to attend mass in either St Ninian's or St Clement's chapels.(48) On 11 March 1546/47 sir Alexander Robertson, sir Robert Spark and sir William Walker, who had been inclosed for suspicion of the pest, were licenced to pass freely once more to their service as chaplains of the choir.(49) During the outbreak of 1549 Mr Hugh Munro, the master of the grammar school, was inclosed with his wife, servants and children.(50) On 17 October 1549 the council ordered that only one door of the parish kirk should be open thenceforth during the time of the pest, and this was to be kept by the sacristan who was to prevent the entry of the poor. Under pain of banishment these were to remain at the kirk door. As in 1546 local beggars were to be licensed by the town and were to wear the burgh's arms upon their breast, whereas all others were charged to depart.(51)

Being among the largest and most substantial structures within the burgh, the kirks or chapels of the town were frequently used for purposes other than worship. The relative security of the St Nicholas' was utilised in the storage of valuable documentation. In 1529 the kirkmaster, David Anderson, was commanded to have an iron door with locks made for the vault underneath the chapter of the parish church where the town's charter chest and evidents were stored. This vault was evidently the church treasury which occurs in 1536 as the storage place of the moneys of Ardlair.(52) In 1521 the provost, Gilbert Menzies, was granted licence to use the burgh's artillery in the defence of his house and of the town, and to remove gunpowder kept within "the chapel on the hill", probably St Ninian's chapel.(53) Several payments appear in the accounts of the council of Ayr relating to the storage of the town's artillery in the parish church of St John Baptist.(54) In October 1537 David Anderson was commanded to collect all those chains and stakes used to obstruct the streets in time of disturbance and store them in the kirk lodge.(55) On 6 October 1525, following the raid of the Garioch Leslies in support of John Colison's abortive coup, the council made provision for the defence of the burgh, and the inhabitants called upon to repair or build up their back dikes and gates. The height of the kirk tower lent itself to the defence of the town. The watch which

kirk tower lent itself to the defence of the town. The watch which patrolled the streets by night was to keep guard from the steeples of the tolbooth and the parish church by day "and to ring the bell quhen thai se ony personis cummand ridand to the toun".(56)

CHAPTER SEVEN

FRATERNITIES AND POPULAR DEVOTION



Throughout much of Europe an important element of religious life was the wealth of fraternities founded in devotion to a particular saint, cultus or endeavour, their members enjoying the benefits of communal intercession and indulgences, and of mutual support. Fraternities were known in Scotland from the twelfth century. The members of one, founded by Bishop Jocelyn, contributed towards the construction of Glasgow Cathedral.(1) The substantial expense involved in the endowment of a chaplainry or anniversary exceeded the means of all but the most prosperous, yet the demand for the benefits of intercession extended alike to lesser folk, and were duly met by pious fraternities. The aims of such religious societies commonly involved the support of a chantry. In February and March of 1518/19 sir John Tyrie, the provost of the college of Methven, and Mr John Ireland, the vicar of Perth, founded chaplainries in the parish church of Perth on behalf of the confraternities of the Name of Jesus and the Holy Trinity of which the two were respective deans. Both altars were endowed with rentals donated by the members.(2) In the parish church of St Andrews one of the chaplainries at the altar of the Virgin associated with a fraternity dedicated to Our Lady of Piety. Another brotherhood is said to have founded three chantries at the altar of St Ninian in the same church.(3) The Edinburgh gild of St Anthony which appears in 1520 was evidently the craft fraternity of the taverners, but a second, attached to the Augustinian house of St Anthony in Leith was evidently a purely religious gild, and was composed of both men and women.(4) Religious fraternities were common even in rural parishes in England, yet such is the paucity of record there is no indication of similar societies in Scotland.

The craft gild fraternities of the burghs were incorporated with the dual intentions of regulation of their particular trade and a common devotion to its patron saint, often maintaining an altar of that dedication. The emergence of the craft's religious commitment is obscure, and only from the fifteenth century does record survive. The earliest seals of cause by which a craft was incorporated date only from the 1470s, although there is evidence for earlier religious activity. Devotion to a patron saint's image or altar frequently

predated a craft's oldest existing seal of cause. The seal may give little indication of a lost predecessor and previously awarded craft privileges nor of the existence of an altar. In 1474 the burgh council of Edinburgh granted a seal of cause to the Skinners who complained that their altar of St Christopher suffered from neglect and the abuse of existing statutes. The altar was probably founded in 1450/1 when the brethren undertook to pay dues to their chaplain.(5) The licence granted by the council of Aberdeen to the Wrights in 1541/42 to repair and build their altar of St John Baptist has been taken as marking the foundation of the craft chantry, yet the craft had already devoted levies to the altar by 1527.(6) An early foundation in honour of the patron of the Hammermen, St Eloy, in the parish church of Perth evidently predated the involvement of the craft. Patronage was reserved to the founder, Andrew Love, and his heirs, but by 1518 the gift of the altar had passed to the Hammermen's gild fraternity. The Wobsters' chantry of St Severus in Perth was founded in 1504 by the burgess, Robert Clark, who then granted its patronage to the deacon and brethren of the craft.(7)

Grants of privilege for the support of craft altars continued to a late date. In 1554 Abbot Robert of Holyrood licenced the Cordiners of the Canongate to build an altar in the parish church.(8) In 1555 Robert Logan of Restalrig renewed a grant made by his father to the Cordiners of Leith, empowering them to make statutes for the maintenance of their altar and chaplain. The craft's original letter was stated to have been burned in May 1544.(9) Probably the last erection was that of the Cordiners' of Glasgow, who were authorised by the council on 27 February 1558/59 to endow a service in honour of SS Crispin and Crispinian at the altar of St Ninian in the cathedral.(10)

Fraternity chantries were most numerous within the largest burghs, in particular Edinburgh, where individually wealthier crafts were capable of supporting their own chaplain. Within the Edinburgh area Cordiner fraternities maintained altars dedicated to SS Crispin and Crispinian, those of Edinburgh in the parish church of St Giles, those of South Leith in the barony of Restalrig in St Mary's of South Leith, and those of the Canongate in the Abbey of Holyrood.(11) In

Perth the Baxters, Hammermen, Glovers, and Cordiners supported services. "Patie's penny", paid by the Skinners, may indicate dues to a further service at the altar of St Peter.(12) In St Andrews the Baxters and Hammermen supported altars in honour of St Aubert and St Eloy. The latter affords some indication of the size of a fraternity, which in 1542 numbered thirty-five including the chaplain.(13) In Linlithgow the Tailors upheld the altar of the Holy Rood, while the Hammermen and Cordiners maintained services to their respective saints, the latter evidently at St Stephen's altar.(14) In Stirling chantries dedicated to St Matthew and St Aubert were supported by the Maltmen and Baxters.(15)

The maintenance of the altar and its chaplain formed the basis of the seals of cause granted to the crafts. A weekly penny paid by each brother of the craft was supplemented by a variety of dues. In 1533 the Cordiners of Edinburgh petitioned the king and burgh to grant them the same privileges as other crafts, as they "mak gret reparatioun and expens at our altare . . and has na lewing to uphald the samyn and daly chaplane therat bot oure ouklie penny", and requested the right possessed by the other crafts to levy a weekly penny on all landward goods of their craft entering the burgh on market day.(16) In January 1519/20 the deacon of the Tailors of Stirling appealed to the provost and baillies of the town for the privileges of their craft in other burghs "for the agmentacioun to be done be tham and causit to be doune in haly kirk". The magistrates commanded the deacon to obtain a list of privileges enjoyed by the Tailors of Perth, upon which they would confer with the remainder of the council. These included the right to levy a variety of dues upon the members and produce of the craft. In March 1519/20 the council granted the Hammermen licence to take up a penny from all persons bringing any metalwork to the burgh on market day, to be applied to the maintenance of a service within the kirk in honour of the Virgin, St Eloy and All Saints.(17)

In 1514/15 the Walkers of Dundee's altar of St Mark Evangelist was funded both by rents purchased by the craft, and by a weekly penny from each master, a halfpenny from each servant of the craft, £2 on setting up a booth, and a pound of wax from freemens' sons who set up

a booth. Fines levied for breaches of the craft's regulation were also to be paid to the altar. All these moneys were to be collected in a chest.(18) An outman desiring to be entered as a master of the Baxters of Dundee was to be bound as an apprentice to an existing master until examined and admitted, when he was to pay £2 to the craft for the maintenance and repair of the craft's altar. Freemens' sons were to be held free of any contribution other than 6s 8d prentice silver to the altar.(19) Where crafts were unable to support a chaplainry individually, cooperation was not unknown. In Ayr the tailors, wobstars, bonnetmakers, masons, wrights, smiths, saddlers, sworslippars, coopers and other hammermen combined to found and maintain an altar in honour of St Anna, St Eloy and All Saints. At the Reformation the chaplainry was valued at twenty merks.(20)

The frequency of service owed by the craft's chaplain varied with its level of endowment. The chaplain of the Cordiners of Edinburgh made daily celebration at their altar. In June 1522 the Wobstars of Stirling gave to the curate, sir Robert Brown, their service of St Severan, at which he was to say two masses each week in return for a fee of £1 6s 8d.(21)

In contrast to the other greater burghs, relatively few chaplainries are known to have been maintained by Aberdonian craft gilds. Over two of the three which are known, the council maintained a firm hold. The altar of St Eloy is known to have existed as early as 1462 when it was held by sir Thomas Hervy.(22) In 1564 the hammermen alleged that the chaplainry had been founded and endowed by their predecessors of the craft.(23) The council, nevertheless, both claimed and exercised donation, but repeatedly, with promises of patronage, lured the craft into augmenting the altar's rental. In July 1477 the council granted that in time to come this should be exercised by the craft.(24) Sir Thomas Hervy died in 1494, and on 10 August the deacons of the craft convened within the house of David Theman where they granted the chaplainry for life to Mr Andrew Craufurd.(25) In despite of the 1477 grant, the provost, Alexander Reid, protested on the same day in the parish church that this act should not prejudice the town's rights. On August 18 the council declared that "thai understande not that the goldsmyts smyts and

hemymene has richt to the patronage of Sanct ye Elegeis altar .... notwithstandinge in hoip of augmentatioun to be maide to the saide altar and the chaplanry beginnyn to be infest thai have grantit to feft the saide craftsmene and Master Androw Craufurd chaplane presentit to the samyn be thame to ioys the said altar and the service of it for ane zer next herefter". If the craftsmen augmented the rental of the altar in accord with their ability, the council undertook to guarantee their right of patronage.(26)

Whatever its promises, the council retained its grip on the service. Craufurd's successors in the service show the influence of the council rather than that of the craft. Craufurd still held the altar in 1497, but evidently demitted it before his death in 1505, as Mr David Menzies appears as its chaplain between 1502 and 1505.(27) Menzies was a burgess son of the town and had received various other services in the council's gift.(28) Sir David Liel, who died in possession of the service in 1518, was the cousin and assistant of sir John Stirling, the depute common clerk.(29) His successor, sir John Mar, was given possession of the altar and its pertinents by the hand of the provost, Gilbert Menzies, acting in the name of the community of Aberdeen. Mar was another burgess son and a former quarter-clerk.(30) Along with St Eloy's altar he received another burgh service, SS Lawrence and Ninian, formerly held by Liel.(31) Mar's successor, sir John Murray, had also served as a quarter-clerk.(32) Subsequent chaplains were evidently candidates put forward by the craft for approval by the council. Sir David Middleton was given possession of the altar in 1521 by a deacon of the craft, which institution was then ratified by Gilbert Menzies, provost of the burgh.(33) Sir David Lorimer's surname is suggestive of a relationship with the families of the craft. Having previously served as a boy-chorister and quarter-clerk, he held the altar between 1532 and 1541.(34) The curate, Mr John Hay, succeeded Lorimer at the altar, and although no exact relationship with the craft is known, a Walter Hay was a deacon of the Hammermen, and appears in April 1529 as "collector of Sanct Loyis vark".(35) He was in turn succeeded by a former burgh boy-chorister and son of a member of the gild, sir John Goldsmith, whose father was one of the

foremost goldsmiths of the town, and had received commissions from James IV.(36)

The endowment of St Eloy's altar was founded on both a rental and the regular contributions of craft members. In 1519 the council granted a seal of cause to the craft, by which the deacons were empowered to receive from every brother of the Hammermen a half-merk of entry silver on his establishing or taking up a booth or forge in the burgh, and a half-merk on his taking an apprentice. Each member was to contribute an annual pound of wax and a weekly penny. To these duties would be added fines imposed by the deacons in cases of transgression of craft regulations.(37)

The Cordiner's service of SS Crispin and Crispinian first occurs in September 1495, on which date the chaplain, sir Alexander Gray, produced an instrument recording that the craft had chosen him as its perpetual chaplain to administer divine service at its altar. In return for his service the craftsmen were bound to sustain Gray in food and drink by a rota among seven of the best and worthiest of its members. When Gray complained that he lacked both his fee and part of his weekly diet, the council called upon the deacons to enforce the terms of his contract. Following Gray's death, on 25 January 1495/96, sir John Litstar was granted the altar by the craft. He faced the same troubles, and in both 1497/8 and 1501/2 had to resort to the burgh to compel payment of his fee.(38)

A chaplainry of St John Baptist appears in 1400, but there is no indication of the patron until 1452/3, at which date the council granted the service to sir Robert Roule. In 1486 the patronage of a chaplainry at the altar was granted to John Knollis on condition of his augmentation of its rental, yet burgh presentations continue, and indicate a second service at the altar. On 5 August 1527 the council granted to John Fenzour, James Wright and George Baxter, deacons of the Coopers, Wrights and Masons of the burgh, the right to collect entry silver, prentice silver, the weekly penny, the annual candle, and fines for trespasses and faults from their brethren on the scale applied to the Hammermen in 1519. According to the entry, however, this was to be towards the maintenance of the altar of St



John Evangelist ... "thar speciall patrone". It is possible that SS John Baptist and Evangelist were the dual patrons of the craft, as the wrights of Edinburgh supported an altar in the honour of both in the church of St Giles, and those of Haddington regarded St John Evangelist as their patron. On 23 February 1541/42 the council granted to the Wrights and Masons of the town free licence to repair and build their altar of St John Baptist "and to decoir the samyn in the maist honest maner with al maner of accidentis that maybe had of thar said craft in tyme cuming .... providing all wayis that the gift of the said alter remane with the toun notwithstanding this gift". This reconstruction of the altar may possibly be associated with the rebuilding of the west end of the nave of the parish church at this period.(39)

Associated with the parish church was the fraternity of the college of St Nicholas', of which membership was open to its lay benefactors.(40) Outwith the burgh proper, the fishermen of Futy maintained a chaplain in the chapel of St Clement, financed by contributions from masters and crewmen, one of whom may have been a fraternity chaplain.(41) The other crafts of the burgh were content with the high altar of the parish church as the focus of their devotions. On 19 July 1535 the deacons and members of Wobsters obliged themselves that any knowingly breaking or abusing terms of employment should pay two pounds to St Nicholas' light, and a fine to the baillies.(42) In 1505 the fines of a number of Baxters were given to the Holy Blood light.(43)

The altar of the Holy Blood was frequently supported by a fraternity, and in a number of burghs this was associated with the merchant gild. In 1526 James V confirmed to the gildry of Dundee a series of levies to be raised to the support of their altar of the Holy Blood.(44) By 1530 the merchant gild of Perth too supported a chaplainry at an altar of the Holy Blood in the burgh's parish church to which tolls on goods were to be similarly raised. In 1548 it was ordained that all new burgesses and gild-brethren should pay £20 to the common good and £4 to the maintenance of the Holy Blood altar.(45) The Holy Blood altar of St Giles, Edinburgh, was founded in 1522 by sir Thomas Ewin who then appointed the four kirkmasters of the confraternity of

the Holy Blood to be patrons after his death. In this he prescribed the conditions, emoluments and duties of the chaplain. The foundation detailed the charitable role of the confraternity, which was to make distributions to thirty-six friars, the four sisters of the hospital of the Blessed Virgin, three lepers, the remainder to be given to the poor.(46)

The cult of the Holy Blood constituted a major element in the religious life of Bruges from the early fourteenth century. During his sojourn in Flanders in 1451 James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews, participated in the annual procession.(47) By 1500 at least fifteen chantries of the Holy Blood or of St Salvator had been founded in ten churches throughout the Lowlands, and by 1560 at least thirty-seven are known.(48) Its earliest occurrences in Scotland were in the east coast ports of Dundee, where the altar of St Salvator was said to be newly founded in 1390/91, and Aberdeen, where William Chalmer of Findoun endowed an altar in 1431.(49) Andrew Cullen in 1445 granted rents to an unnamed altar to be built in the north aisle of Our Lady of Piety in St Nicholas'.(50) This is likely to have been the altar of the Holy Blood, of which he appears as tutor in 1454/55, and of which the Cullens were patrons in the sixteenth century.(51) A second chantry of St Salvator in St Nicholas' was founded by Andrew Murray in 1490.(52) In Aberdeen there is no indication of a chaplainry supported by the gild fraternity, but from the mid-fifteenth century the burgh council supported the weekly Holy Blood Mass. In 1450 the council commissioned a great eucharist or monstrance as a focus in the adoration of the sacrament.(53) This was associated with the high altar, and was distinct from the Cullen altar, a judgement of 1476 ordaining that a candle should be given "ad luminari sancti sanguinis ad altare beati nicholai".(54)

The Holy Blood was the most popular of a series of devotions which entered Scotland by its trading links with the Low Countries, where they were the focus of some of the numerous religious fraternities attached to Bruges' collegiate churches of St Donatian and Onze Lieve Vrouw. New Christocentric and Mariological feasts of the Five Wounds, the Visitation, the Presentation, and the Compassion were incorporated into the Scottish liturgical calendar. A popular

devotion in Flanders in the late fifteenth century, the Name of Jesus appeared as an altar dedication in Glasgow, Perth and Aberdeen between 1500 and 1520. The confraternity of Our Lady of the Snows was founded in Bruges before 1450 by the craft gild of the tailors. It prospered and attracted hundreds of members, of whom the greatest was Charles the Bold. Lesser members included the painters Petrus Christus and Memling, and the Scot Alexander Bonkle. The parish of Old Aberdeen, which from 1503 appears under this dedication, was the creation of Bishop Elphinstone, who was in Bruges at Easter 1495.(55) The cult of the suffering Christ had its Mariological parallel in the later mediaeval revival of the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows, or Our Lady of Piety. The cult was ratified at Köln in 1423 by the institution of the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows on the Friday after Palm Sunday. The dedication appeared in Scotland in Aberdeen, St Andrews, Dunfermline, Scone, and at Aberdour in Banff.(56)

The great reliance of the Scots upon precedent and the models of other towns, and in particular the Low Countries, is illustrated by the council of Edinburgh's grant of an altar to the Masons and Wrights of the town in 1475. In setting out the crafts' order of precedence this stipulated that "Alswa the saidis twa craftismen sall caus and have thair placis and rowmes in all generale procesiouns lyk thai haf in the towne of Bruges or siclyk gud townes".(57)

A series of statutes by the council of Aberdeen set out the duties of the trades in the celebration of the major feasts, each of which was marked by processions and plays. The major festival of the year was Corpus Christi, the earliest reference to which, in Aberdeen, occurs in 1440 when the council made allowance to the Abbot of Bonaccord for his expenses "in quodam ludo de ly Haliblude ludendo apud ly Wyndmylhill".(58) By a statute of 1496/97 each craft was to have its own standard.(59) In 1533 the council ordained that the craftsmen should attend the processions of Corpus Christi and Candlemas, each craft behind its own banner, borne by their "pegane" or wildman, "conforme to the auld lovable consuetud and ryit of this burgh, and of the noble burgh of Edinburgh, of the quhilk ryit and consuetud the said provest hes gottin the copy in writ".(60) In 1442 it was statute for the following Candlemas that each craft

should provide a number of actors to take part in the religious tableaux. Tradition ordained that the Smiths and Hammermen were to supply the Three Kings, the Tailors St Bride, St Helen and St Joseph, the Skinners two bishops and four angels, and "alsmony squiares as thai may". The merchant gild were to furnish "the knyghtes in harnace".(61) A statute of 1484/5 set out that each craftsman was to bear the token of his trade upon his breast in "thare best array on Candilmes day at the Offerand", under pain of forfeiture of their freedom of the town for a year. Annually after Michaelmas it was customary to bear around the town an image of St Nicholas, presumably one of those ornamenting the high altar. On St Nicholas' day the master of the grammar school passed through the town with the Boy Bishop to receive an offering from each household. Any refusing them entry was to pay 4s to the master and 8s to the town.(62) A number of other feasts would have been marked by similar celebrations. On the feast day of their patron, St Aubert, the Bakers of Perth processed through the town with pipe and drum, carrying torches, and accompanied by a player wearing "the Devil's coat" and by a horse shod with mens' shoes.(63)

In 1504, in accordance with old usage, the council ordained that "ale personis burges nichtbouris, and burges sonnys, habil to rid to decoir and honor the toun in thair array, convenient tharto, sale rid with the Abbot and Prior of Bonaccord on every Sanct Nicholas day throw the toun". Failure or refusal to do so when lawfully warned without reasonable impediment would lead to forfeiture of any fishings held in tack of the town or a 20s fine to the kirkwork.(64) In 1508 the statute was repeated, but with the modification that the town was now to ride with Robin Hood and Little John "quhilkis was callit in yers bipast Abbat and Prior of Bonacord".(65) By the ordinance of 30 April 1535 "all zoung abil men" of the town were to attend the lords of Bonaccord, clad in green coats.(66) The activities of the abbot and his fellows were a frequent cause of controversy, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to suppress them. On 30 April 1445 "for letting and stanching of diverse enormyteis done in time bygane be the abbotis of this burgh, callit of bone acorde, that in time to cum thai will give na feis to na sic abbotis", but that the alderman and a baillie should execute the

necessary duties.(67) In 1542 the lords were denounced as "common beggaris and skafferis, thair meltyd wes bot small for thair cuttit out hoyss".(68) Nevertheless, election to this office brought heavy financial commitments and was not always welcomed. Among the customs maintained by the Lords during their reign, and in particular during the month of May, was the provision of an extravagant banquet. This fell into disrepute. On 14 April 1552 this was judged "nother profitabill nor godlie and did hurt to sundry young men that wer elekit in the said office, becaus the last elekit did aye pretent to surmont in thair predecessouris in thair ryetouss and sumptuous banketing". This distracted from the main function of the Lords "quhilk wes in halding of the gud toun in glaidnes and blythnes, witht danssis, farsiiis, playis, and gamis". Thenceforth the banqueting was to be restricted to three occasions, the "senze" day, the first Sunday of May, and the Tuesday after Easter. The provision of the other traditional entertainments was to be revived, and any person elected to the office and refusing to accept it was to forfeit their freedoms and other privileges of the town.(69)

These public processions afforded occasion for the manifestation of rivalries between the trades. Each craft was assigned a post in the procession defended by both precedent and council ordinance. In 1502/3 a number of Wobstars were fined by the baillie court for their attempt to displace the Tailors from their traditional station.(70) In 1507 it was ordained that the Skinners should precede the Cordiners in all processions.(71) The most prestigious position was in proximity to the Sacrament, which was borne towards the rear of the procession, followed only by the various Hammermen. Even among these disputes arose, as in 1538 when the deacon complained of the Armourers' usurpation against the common ordinance of the burgh and all other towns of the realm.(72)

The craftsmen did not always take kindly to compulsory attendance. In 1523/24 the council considered that the crafts of the burgh had failed in their observance of the customary Candlemas celebrations, "becauss thai wer absent for the maist part, and that thai that wer present, buyr nocht the taikins of thar craft".(73) The popularity of these occasions is hard to evaluate. That non-attendance

warranted such substantial fines presupposes a widespread reluctance to participate. Yet clearly the crafts shared in the council's pride in these occasions and were prepared to jostle for a prominent position. That both extremes occur might be attributed to a manifestation of tension between the crafts and the merchant gild-dominated council. In both Aberdeen and Perth the popularity of these processions and plays as an occasion for licenced recreation and display survived the Reformation and the attempts at suppression by the new church. Despite repeated condemnations by the kirk Corpus Christi was celebrated with youthful exuberance in Perth as late as 1574 and St Aubert's as late as 1587.(74)

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### "ANE CUNNING AND QUALIFEIT PERSEUNE"



a)

The Sang and Grammar Schools of Aberdeen:

On 7th October 1496 the burgh council of Aberdeen granted the administration of its sang school to Robert Huchonson "for the qwhilkis he sale with ale diligence and besunes teche, informe, make leir and instruk ale barnis under his cure Ande specialie the barnis burges sonis native borne of this burgh to sing and play one the organis to the stuffing, fortifeing and uphalding of goddis service in the said queir".(1) The later middle ages saw a period of rapid development in ecclesiastical musical technique, in particular the augmentation of the basic form of plainchant by descant and widespread employment of instrumental accompaniment. By the mid-fifteenth century the organ had become a common sight in larger Scottish churches. That of St Nicholas' first appears in a payment of 1437 "pro sufflatione organorum".(2) Polyphony in the secular church benefited from and encouraged the contemporary spread of colleges and the increasing numbers of staff within the greater churches. Surplus wealth combined with the communal and individual piety and pride of the Scottish burgh proved a particularly fertile soil in which music could flourish.

By the early years of the sixteenth century, three sang schools were active within the two Aberdeens, one attached to each of the cathedral, King's College, and the parish kirk of St Nicholas. That of St Nicholas' was in existence prior to 1452 when sir Andrew Thomson was granted an annual fee of £5 for his daily service in the kirk and his administration of the sang school. In 1483 its rule was granted to Richard Boyle, one of the quarter-clerks, with the assistance of his old master, sir Andrew.(3) The great emphasis placed by the council upon musical skill is illustrated by those charged with the school's administration. Both Thomson and Boyle were experienced members of the town's choir. The former had served the burgh as a chorister since at least 1448. A married layman, Robert Huchonson's qualifications are implied by the high fee he received from the burgh. In January 1505/6 his successor, sir Thomas Binning, received the town's service of St Michael, augmented by the annexed rents of the former Rutherford chaplainry. He subsequently received further sizeable increments. Binning's

assistant master, sir Andrew Coupar, was himself a former boy-chorister and had served in the choir since 1488. Sir John Cuming, who was granted the school in 1518/19, and sir John Black, who held it from at least 1556 were also former boy-choristers and pupils of the school. Black was himself a composer of some merit.(4)

Ability to play the organ was a standard requirement of all masters of the school. According to Wood, sir John Fethy had studied on the continent and was reputed to have been "the first organist that ever brought in Scotland the curious new fingering and playing on organs". He was hired by the council of Aberdeen in September 1544 as a prebendary of the choir, to play the town's organs and to have the administration of the school. The council valued Fethy's skills sufficiently to countenance his employment of deputies in his absence. This would have been frequent as, from at least January 1544/45, he held the office of the Chapel Royal of Stirling. Evidently some discretion was allowed him in the choice of his assistants. The 1546 renewal of his contract discharged all other staff of the school and organ except sir John "and his techaris under him to be nominit and input be him as thinkis expedient". Fethy was bound to continual service, keeping matins, high mass and evensong every Sunday and other great feasts and holy days, attending the Holy Blood Mass on Thursdays, Our Lady Mass on Wednesday and Saturday, to play upon the organs whenever required and to teach in the school once every work day. He subsequently left the employ of Aberdeen and in July 1551 entered that of Edinburgh as organist. He continued in the service of the Chapel Royal until his death.(5)

The pupils of the sang school were drawn largely from the sons of the town, yet Huchonson's contract which emphasised the tuition of "specialie the burges sonis native borne of this burgh" may imply that the school also received pupils from without Aberdeen.(6) The number of pupils attending the school is unknown, but some indication of a minimum is afforded by the agreement of 1546 between sir John Fethy and his deputy, John Black, by which Black was to have the power of correction over "his own tua brether, Alexander Grayis twa sons" and two others, reserving the discipline of the remaining bairns to Fethy.(7) The chanter of King's College who had the rule

of its sang school was to instruct the six boy choristers and also "others wishing to hear music".(8) Students of a range of ages attended the school. It was the common practice of the council of Aberdeen to continue a singer's fee "quhill he be promovit till ye preistheid". Sir John Fethy was to teach singing, playing and "uther guid manieris to ye barnis and young men".(9) A number of sangsters and choristers were clearly in this latter group and appear only a few years later as chaplains. Several individuals served the choir for long periods, evidently into their majority, yet do not appear to have taken more than minor orders. Of these William Strachan served the choir for eleven years, and Patrick Cuming for fourteen.(10) Gilbert Binning had served the burgh for twenty years before he disappeared from Aberdeen records.(11)

For the period between 1448 and 1560 there are preserved the names of some fifty-nine boys and young men in the pay of the burgh as choristers. Three other youths, Walter Blair, John Stirling (II) and David Liel were probably also pupils of the school. Of this total of sixty-two, twenty-one later appear as chaplains of the church of St Nicholas. Another, William Young, left the choir in 1501 to become a friar.(12) Musical skills were a valuable passport to employment outwith the burgh kirk. The possibilities offered by migration is well illustrated by an entry in the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts for 1537/8 which records payments for cloth "to be coitis to twa childrenne that come furtht of Abirdene to the Kingis chapell in Striveling to syng".(13) Andrew Ettal left the service of the town and found a post as the vicar-choral of Murthlak in St Machar's cathedral.(14) John Galloway, the brother of Mr Alexander the rector of Kinkell, later appears as a canon of the cathedral.(15) Two other cases are less certain. Walter Fethy, who served the burgh as a singer and organist might possibly have been a determinant of 1522-1523 at St Andrews.(16) Durkan's identification of Gilbert Robertson, a singer between 1521 and 1530, with the chaplain and parish clerk of Kintore who appears in 1529, is unlikely. However, his other suggested identification with a prebendary of St Giles' who appears between 1532 and 1542 corresponds rather better.(17)

The existence and success of the sang school in its tuition and in its public celebration created a self perpetuating and appreciative body of lay patronage. It is likely that members of the burgh council had themselves spent some of their youth as choristers of the parish church, acquiring a practical and technical knowledge of the subject and an appreciation of quality of service. Burghal authorities were prepared to go to considerable expense in the pursuit of musical talent. In April 1527 the burgh granted Gilbert Robertson licence "to pass to the skoullis to lair to play one the organis for twa yeres". For this period he was permitted to retain his clerkship, but was bound to serve the burgh for a year on his return. Thereafter it was to have first claim on his services before any other.(18) In Mar 1528/29 this licence was renewed, on this occasion "to pas and remane in pareis for ane zeir to leir vertew". He had returned to Aberdeen by September of the following year when the burgh made payment of his outstanding fees.(19) As one of the foremost centres of European music Paris attracted a number of other Scots in this period. In 1553 the council of Edinburgh licenced James Lauder, a prebendary of St Giles' to travel to England and to France to study music and the organ for four years.(20) Alexander Scott, a singer and organist appears in Paris in 1540 as a student of the fife.(21) In 1478 sir William Gibson set off to travel to the schools of other countries with the consent of the council of Peebles.(22) Sir John Fethy's peripatetic career amply illustrates the career prospects potential in this demand for such highly qualified musicians.

As employees of the burgh, boy sangsters were supported in the schools by a variety of fees. As in many rural parishes, the parish clerkship could be of considerable profit. That of Aberdeen was sufficient to permit its division into four quarter-clerkships, each bringing in about five merks. In 1477 these were named as the Gallowgate, Castlegate, Shiprow and Green, and the Guestrow with the Schoolhill. A fifth clerkship, of Futty, which first appears in 1515, may have been associated with the chapel of St Clement. These clerkships were evidently granted to promising or favoured individuals. Of the twenty-three known clerks, over half later appear as chaplains. More commonly the boy would receive 20s or 40s

annually for a gown and his diet among seven or eight burgesses in rotation, for so long as he continued in the sang school and served in the choir.(23)

Possessed of at least an elementary literacy, the chorister might pass to the grammar school to acquire the detailed knowledge of Latin vital for a clerical career. By the cathedral statutes of 1256 the Chancellor was to provide a suitable master to have the rule of the scholars of Aberdeen and to educate them in grammar and logic. In 1262 Thomas de Benholm was named as master of the school. However, these references may be to the cathedral school rather than a school in New Aberdeen. By 1419 a grammar school did exist in the royal burgh, its collation pertaining to the chancellor and its presentation to the council.(24)

The differing emphases of sang and grammar school is clearly illustrated in their staff. Whereas no known sang school master held a degree, all nine recorded masters of the grammar school after 1419 were graduates. The masters formed a link with the leading centres of both Scots and European academia. Mr John Homyll, who succeeded Andrew de Syves in 1419, was a graduate of both St Andrews and Paris.(25) Mr John Smalee, who appears in the mastership between 1460 and 1465, was licenced by the council in the 1440s to study at St Andrews.(26) A licentiate of Paris and a close associate of Bishop Elphinstone, William Strachan served the school from at least 1497/98 until his death in 1508.(27) Thereafter the mastership remained vacant for several months until June 1509, when it was granted by the burgh to Mr John Marischal, possibly a graduate of the newly founded university of Aberdeen.(28) It is clear that the burgh authorities came to look to the new college for its masters. Although no early matriculation rolls exist, it is highly probable that both John Bisset, master between 1529 and 1530/31, and Hugh Munro, master between 1538/39 and 1550, were graduates of Aberdeen. From 1516 Bisset appears as a regent of King's.(29) Both of Munro's successors, James Chalmer, master between 1550 and 1556, and John Henderson, master between 1558 and 1569/70, had been students in the faculty of theology in 1549.(30) Henderson was a former student of Paris.(31)

The masters of the school were frequently men with local ties. A priest of the diocese of Aberdeen, John Smalee was a burgh altarist when he received the town's licence to study at St Andrews. Thomas and William Strachan were related to the Strachans of Thornton in the parish of Marykirk, but had kin within the burgh of Aberdeen. Mr Thomas, who appears as master in 1478/79, owed his promotion to the influence of the chancellor of Aberdeen, Mr Alexander Inglis, who requested that he be granted the first vacancy in the burgh's gift. Strachan failed to satisfy his masters and was discharged in 1484 in default of his service. Nevertheless his probable successor was a kinsman, Mr William, who acted on his behalf at the Roman Curia in 1490. Two other masters belonged to landowning families in the hinterland of Aberdeen. Although described as a clerk of the diocese of Moray, John Marschell probably hailed from Auchterellon in the parish of Ellon. John Bisset is likely to have been a member of the Bissets of Pitmuxton.(32)

As in the sang school, the master was aided in his teaching by assistant masters. In January 1549/50 the council of Aberdeen convicted Davie Anderson "doctour in the grammer skuhill" and John Robertson "for the out feching of the barnis of the said grammar skuhill, and the invasion and assault of Gilbert and David Kintore". The number of scholars is unknown, but might have been comparable with the grammar school of Old Aberdeen which in 1543 was attended by at least fifteen pupils.(33)

Though passing from under the tuition of the sang school master, the grammar scholar was still held to duty within the choir, though with certain dispensations. Robert Young was hired in 1534 as a singer to keep all wonted service "except thai licenc him fra the mateins on feruele dais he keipand the skuyll quhill he be sufficientle instructit in grammer".(34)

In April 1501, Jock of Mar, the younger son of a burghess, was granted a quarter clerkship, for which he was to serve in the choir. In July 1503, he was given licence by the burgh to serve the clerkship by a deputy and "to pass to the school till his instructioun". Two months later this deputy, Cristy Nairn, himself left the sang school

for the grammar school and Thomas Chalmer (II) took his place. Yet a third deputy was supplied to the clerkship in October 1505. With the consent of John of Mar, a baillie and Jock's elder brother, Watte Strathachin was to serve the quarter "yet pertaining to Johnne of Mar in the choir and outside as effeirs one of the four clerks . . for the profits of the half of the said clerkship and for his meat circularly amang diverse counsaile of the toune".(35)



b)

Universities and the Church of St Nicholas:

Of the two-hundred and twenty-two altarists and choristers known to have served in the parish kirk of Aberdeen between 1400 and 1560, sixty either bore the title of master, or are otherwise known to have attended a university. However, as only licentiates are identifiable by their title, the number of those educated at a university is likely to have been higher. In at least one case a known licentiate is only accorded the title "dominus". On his presentation in 1441 to the Barns service of St Lawrence, sir William Chalmer was described as a presbyter and licentiate in arts. He is probably to be identified with a St Andrews determinant of 1436 and licentiate of 1438.(1) A number of chaplains serve to indicate the possibility of underestimating the educational level of non-licentiates. In 1453 sir Robert Leis, later active in Aberdeen as a notary, took his bachelor's degree at St Andrews.(2) In 1458 Alexander Club "de Scotia" of the diocese of Aberdeen matriculated in arts at Louvain.(3) Alexander Russel, whose mother was stated in 1529 to have died in Stralsund, is undoubtedly the clerk of the diocese of Aberdeen who appears in the university of Greifswald in 1519.(4) All these later served as altarists in the church of St Nicholas and bore only the title of "dominus". If none of these men graduated as bachelors, they yet indicate the pervasive influence of university education. They also exemplify the academic mobility enjoyed by students of this period. The inconvenience, peril and expense of travel to the Continent was doubtless a major consideration in the foundation of the Scottish universities, yet did not deter a steady flow of students to the great centres of European education, nor yet, once founded, did the Scottish universities serve to discourage such travel.

The foundation of the university at St Andrews in 1411 was a response both to Scotland's religious and political isolation, and to the growing awareness of the nation's lack of a vital element of education elsewhere provided ever more widely, and of increasing importance. The country's former close ties with the universities of England had suffered as a consequence of the chronic hostility

between the two kingdoms. Scots students were driven into an increased dependence upon the distant schools of the Continent, and, in particular, Paris, where in 1326 the Bishop of Moray founded a college for students of his diocese. Even this relationship was to be considerably strained as a consequence of the conflicting allegiances of France and Scotland during the Great Schism. Once this rift was healed Scots students returned to Paris in great numbers. Of the 1,535 students who studied at Paris between 1425 and 1494, 253 were Scots. The great majority of these came from the three wealthiest dioceses, 121 from St Andrews, 47 from Glasgow, and 39 from Aberdeen.(5) Between 1459 and 1542 these included thirteen students later holding altarages or serving in the kirk and choir of St Nicholas'. Alexander Fife and Duncan Scherar took their bachelor's degree at Paris in 1459 and graduated as masters the following year.(6) Scherar was a close associate of Bishop Elphinstone in the foundation of the university of Aberdeen, in which he appears as dean of faculty from 1500.(7) Thomas Stane, a bachelor of 1466 and master of 1467 remained in Paris for some time after his graduation and was elected as examiner of the German nation in 1469.(8) David Menzies and William Strachan both determined at Paris in 1484. They subsequently returned to Aberdeen, entered the service of Bishop Elphinstone and took higher degrees in the new university.(9) Both students of the diocese of Aberdeen, Duncan Chalmer and William Philipson were contemporaries of Hector Boece as arts students at Paris in the early 1490s.(10) All three were subsequently to hold altarages in St Nicholas', but evidently only Philipson was a resident and a member of the college of the choir.

The Continent attracted students in both undergraduate and higher studies. Among these Paris was preeminent, but a steady stream followed the trade routes to the Low Countries and Germany. After taking his first degree at Paris, William Philipson went on to study at Köln.(11) Köln had attracted students from Aberdeen since at least the middle of the fifteenth century. A chorister and preacher of Aberdeen in 1446/7, Mr Andrew Cruden had studied in the university four years earlier.(12) Mr Alexander Bisset matriculated at Köln in 1483, and is probably to be identified with the Alexander Bisset of Aberdeen who matriculated at Louvain in January 1505/6.(13) David

Menzies, who had taken degrees at both Paris and Aberdeen, returned to the Continent and matriculated at Louvain in 1526.(14)

St Andrews attracted students from Aberdeen both before and after Bishop Elphinstone's foundation. Sir John Smalee, chaplain of the burgh's altar of the Holy Rood, determined in arts at St Andrews in 1442. At the request of the rector and university, in October 1444 the burgh council granted him licence to remain at his studies, and to serve his altar by a substitute.(15) The first master of St Thomas' hospital, John Chalmer, graduated at St Andrews in 1452.(16) Mr David Nicholson, a clerk of the burgh court, was probably a graduate of Aberdeen, whereas his illegitimate son John took his degree in arts at St Andrews.(17) Glasgow, which lacked a faculty of theology, was less popular as a centre for Aberdonian students. Incorporated in 1485, Alexander Bisset is the only active member of the staff of St Nicholas' known to have studied arts there.(18) Mr John Cuming studied arts at Glasgow and determined in 1480. However, although he was the son of an Aberdeen burgess, his association with St Nicholas' was limited to his holding the Civil Law burse of the Magdalen altar.(19) Mr Robert Menzies graduated in arts at St Andrews and was incorporated at Glasgow in 1525. Another probable burgess son, he held two of the services of St Andrew in the parish church of Aberdeen, but his links with this may have been similarly tenuous.(20)

William Elphinstone's foundation of the university of Aberdeen in 1495 was a conscious attempt to provide the same level of educational facility for the remote, poorer northern provinces as that enjoyed by the southern half of the kingdom. If he exaggerated the condition of these regions, "uncultured, ignorant of letters and almost barbarous", to give his petition more weight, his genuine concern for the education of the northern population is borne out by the terms of the 1505 foundation. This made provision for thirteen burses for poor scholars in arts, three of which were to be given to students of the four parishes of Aberluthnot, Glenmuick, Abergerny and Slains, the teinds of which formed a major part of the endowment of King's College. As well as the basic course in Arts, the new university

was to cater for the higher degrees in Theology, Canon and Civil Law, and Medicine.(21)

From the late 1480s a number of graduates of both Scottish and Continental universities appear in Aberdeen. A number of these, such as Alexander Bisset and David Menzies, were local men, but others from further afield, such as Mr William Strachan, may well have been attracted by Elphinstone's projected university, as were Hector Boece, then reading philosophy in Paris, and his brother Arthur. No matriculation or graduation rolls survive for the early university yet there can be little doubt that a generation of graduates appearing in Aberdeen from about 1501, and whose names are not recorded in the rolls of other universities, represent the early arts graduates of Elphinstone's foundation. Mr Thomas Chalmer, who appears in 1501/2, and Mr David Nicholson, who first appears in 1506/7, were native Aberdonians.(22) William Strachan's successor as master of the grammar school, Mr John Marschell, was probably another early graduate.(23) In later years this post was to be given to Mr James Chalmer and Mr John Henderson, both of whom had studied theology at Aberdeen.(24) David Mackison, who occurs as clerk of the consistory of Aberdeen between 1516/17 and 1525/26, graduated between these two dates, doubtless at Aberdeen.(25) He was succeeded both in the consistory clerkship and in the chantry of the Holy Blood in St Nicholas' by Robert Mackison, who in turn may have graduated in arts at Aberdeen between April 1532 and February 1533/34.(26) Working in later life as notaries, Mr David Nicholson, Mr John Hay and Mr Thomas Annan each styled himself "professor artium", a peculiarity of notaries of the north-east, perhaps explained by the practice of informally supplementing the tuition of regents by employing theological students as teachers of arts.(27)

Chantry chaplainries were a common source of university bursaries. Sir John Lundin of Largo's 1510 augmentation of his chaplainry in the newly-built aisle of SS John Baptist and Evangelist at Largo made provision for the default of its presentation to the provost and two senior canons of St Salvator's College in St Andrews.(28) The foundation of David de Cadiou, a canon of Glasgow, at the altar of Our Lady, was to be served by a suitable clerk studying canon law at

the university.(29) Elphinstone's quest for the further endowment of his fledgling university was rewarded by the acquisition of the chaplainry of St Mary Magdalen, founded by Andrew Alanson in the parish church of Aberdeen.(30) The date of the transfer of patronage is unknown. In 1492 this was still in the gift of the lay patron, the burgess Thomas Waus, when he presented his cousin for collation to the service. In 1501/2 sir Andrew Gray was collated to the chaplainry.(31) Other than the possibility that Gray was an assistant master in the grammar school of Aberdeen, there is no indication that he was associated with the university. The service only appears in the Bishop's gift after Gray's death in December 1504. On 10 February 1504/5, in compensation for Mr John Chalmer's resignation of his rights in a pension of the teinds of Aberluthnot, Elphinstone granted him collation to the Magdalen service.(32) Only on Chalmer's death or resignation was it possible for Elphinstone to put into practice his intention of employing the altarage to fund a burse in civil law. The first student to benefit from this was probably Hector Boece's brother Arthur, who resigned the chaplainry in October 1506 to Mr David Menzies.(33) In 1516 the burgh council of Aberdeen made an attempt to gain control of the service and presented their chorister sir John Fife, but this proved unsuccessful.(34) Between 1506 and 1518 it was held by a succession of students at the university for periods of about two years.(35) Thereafter the system broke down and from 1518 until his death in 1563 it remained in the possession of Mr Hector Myrtoun.(36)

Despite its defeat in the cause of the Magdalen altar, the council of Aberdeen's relationship with the university was cordial. In August 1528 it voted a propine to Mr Hector Boece on his achieving his "master ack in theology".(37) From among the burgh's choristers a number were encouraged to enter higher learning. In 1546 John Kilstaris was licenced to pass "to ye college in auld abirdene to study and lerning of lettres". Kilstaris was to retain his 40s fee of the burgh and was dispensed from service in the choir on other than Sundays and feast days.(38) A number of other burgh licences permitting choristers to attend the schools may have referred to the University rather than the burgh grammar school.(39)

A series of other altarists of St Nicholas' studied in the higher faculties of the university of Aberdeen. Mr William Strachan served the town's altar of St John Baptist between 1492 and 1508, and taught at the grammar school from at least 1497/8.(40) Strachan was one of Bishop Elphinstone's close associates in the early years of the university, and one of its first students. On 23 June 1499 Bishop Elphinstone united the revenues of the newly erected parish of the Snow Kirk with the university. Intending that these revenues should support the Canonist he stipulated that the rector of the parish should be a graduate or at least a bachelor in Canon Law and a reader in the faculty.(41) This requirement was waived in Strachan's favour, presumably as he was already studying towards this degree. After completing his studies in Civil Law at Aberdeen, Mr David Menzies took the baccalaureate in Canon Law.(42) Mr John Hay was active in Aberdeen as a notary from the 1520s, and is likely to have taken his arts degree at Aberdeen. In 1520 he was collated to the chaplainry founded in the cathedral by Bishop Spens and which had been annexed by Bishop Elphinstone to another burse in Civil Law.(43) Robert Mackison, the chaplain of the Holy Blood, was named as a student of law in 1549. In contrast to Strachan, Menzies and Hay, who appear to have taken an active role in the burgh kirk and its college, Mackison was admonished for failing to make residence, celebrate divine service in accordance with chaplainry attached to his bursary, or applying himself to his studies.(44)

Under the constitution of 17 September 1505, provision was made in King's College for thirty-six endowed members, including eight prebendaries and four boy choristers.(45) The 1505 constitution specified that the prebendaries were to be in priest's orders, skilled in Gregorian chant, pricksong, figuration, faburdon, measures and descant. If also proving satisfactory in knowledge of grammar they were to be admitted to the college and were to choose in which of the faculties they wished to study.(46) Of the prebendaries of the 1540s three were either active in or associated with the church of St Nicholas. The son of a burghess of Aberdeen, sir David Barns, appears as a prebendary of King's between 1541 and 1546.(47) From 1522 he held one of the services at the altar of St Christopher in St Nicholas'. Evidently he was not resident and acted in the burgh

court by proctors.(48) Both of his agents were closely associated with the churches of Old Aberdeen. Sir Andrew Scherar, who acted as his proctor in 1522, was himself a chaplain at the altar of St Christopher and the chamberlain of the Bishop of Aberdeen.(49) Sir Robert Rust, Barns's proctor in 1523, was vicar of Kinkell, the prebend of Bishop Dunbar's architect, Mr Alexander Galloway.(50) Barn's contemporary as prebendary, sir Alexander Smith, between October 1538 and June 1539 acted as factor for Mr Robert Gray, chaplain of St Barbara's altar.(51) There is no indication of either Barns's or Smith's academic qualification. A third prebendary of King's, Mr Alexander Wricht, was active as a chaplain and notary from the 1520s, and served as sacristan of King's College between 1541 and 1563.(52) He first occurs as chaplain of the Name of Jesus in St Nicholas' in April 1578, but is likely to have held this from about 1554.(53)

So far as the surviving evidence shows, until the 1490s, graduates had accounted for no more than one in ten of the altarists serving in the parish church of St Nicholas. From 1490 there is a significant upward trend reflecting the influence of the newly founded college in Old Aberdeen. In the following table non-licentiates appear under Dominus.

Licentiate and Non-Licentiate Altarists in St Nicholas', Aberdeen:

	<u>Dominus, etc:</u>	<u>Master:</u>	<u>Total:</u>
1430-9	6	0	6
1440-9	6	1	7
1450-9	12	1	13
1460-9	12	0	12
1470-9	16	1	17
1480-9	21	2	23
1490-9	22	8	30
1500-9	28	11	39
1510-9	20	12	32
1520-9	17	14	31
1530-9	13	15	28
1540-9	11	15	26
1550-9	3	12	15



Although such incomplete figures should be treated with some caution, they suggest that a rising proportion of the staff of St Nicholas' benefited from education in the new university. Documentation for other burgh churches tends to be more fragmentary, yet a comparable picture is afforded by Holy Trinity, St Andrews, where the proportion of graduate chaplains varies between a third and a half.(54)

Licentiate and Non-Licentiate Altarists in Holy Trinity, St Andrews:

	<u>Dominus, etc:</u>	<u>Master:</u>	<u>Total:</u>
1480-9	7	2	9
1490-9	10	5	15
1500-9	10	7	17
1510-9	4	3	7
1520-9	6	4	10
1530-9	9	3	12
1540-9	7	7	14
1550-9	7	6	13

Unfortunately insufficient information survives to indicate an increase similar to that of Aberdeen in the early years of the university of St Andrews. Yet if the burgh churches of Aberdeen and St Andrews demonstrate the influence of university education filtering through the ecclesiastical hierarchy, they are atypical of Scottish burgh churches. The one other exception is the great church of St Mary's in Dundee. The high figures here are clearly due to the close proximity of the university at St Andrews. Of the fifteen known licentiate altarists, ten had studied there.(55) In no other burgh kirk for which there is any considerable body of information, does a comparable proportion of graduate altarists appear. Though the parson, vicar and master of the grammar school were frequently university educated, altarists were only rarely so. The parish church of St Andrew of Peebles is relatively well

documented, and there the proportion of chantry-serving graduates remains consistently low. Between 1450 and 1560 only seven altarists are recorded as licentiates.(56)

Licentiate and Non-licentiate Altarists in Peebles:

	<u>Dominus</u>	<u>Master</u>	<u>Total</u>
1450-9	2	0	2
1460-9	4	1	5
1470-9	6	0	6
1480-9	9	1	10
1490-9	2	0	2
1500-9	6	2	8
1510-9	7	1	8
1520-9	7	1	8
1530-9	7	1	8
1540-9	9	2	11
1550-9	12	2	14

The direct influence of university education upon the chaplains who served Peebles' altars was evidently relatively limited. In contrast, major benefices such as the vicarage of Peebles, and the provostry founded in the church upon the teinds of the vicarage of Lyne were held by graduates.

The documentation of other churches tends to be fragmentary, but where any substantial information can be assembled, this conforms to the pattern of Peebles. The impression given by the burgh kirks of St Giles' in Edinburgh, St John Baptist's in Perth, St John Baptist's in Ayr, and the abbey kirk of Dunfermline is one of few graduate altarists.(57) For St Michael's, Linlithgow, the names of twelve altarists are known for the 1530s, and ten for the 1540s, none of whom bore the title of master.(58)

It is evident that Elphinstone achieved some qualified success in raising the educational standards of his clergy and that the rising proportion of graduate altarists serving in the church of St Nicholas was a consequence of the foundation of the university in 1495. A high proportion of the graduates serving the altars in the sixteenth

century were burgh sons or natives of the burgh who had profited from the accessibility of King's College. Men such as Thomas Chalmer (I) and David Nicholson, both probable Aberdeen graduates, were prominent figures in the burgh and active members of the staff of the parish church. More difficult to quantify is the precise benefit brought to service within the kirk. Both Chalmer and John Marschell came into conflict with the burgh magistrates over papal authority and the town's advocacy of altars and school. In the eyes of the council, an educated servant might be a mixed blessing. Yet, whereas these individuals served their chantries in person, there was a simultaneous growth of absentee graduate altarists. A chaplain of the altars of St Christopher and St Stephen, Mr David Douglas is perhaps to be identified with a notary active around Elgin, and rarely appears in person, but represented by a proctor.(59) The activities of those students and staff of King's holding services in New Aberdeen would have been circumscribed by their obligation to keep residence within the precincts of the college. The Magdalen altar, previously served by a resident chaplain of the choir of St Nicholas', became a burse in Civil Law, and was granted to a series of students, few of whom appear to have had any contact with the church of St Nicholas. Other than David Menzies, none appears as a member of the college of the choir of St Nicholas. Although the constitutions of King's College stipulated that those students enjoying chaplainries should celebrate mass for their founders in their respective churches, Mr Alexander Galloway's visitation of 1549 found it necessary to caution three students for failure to serve these chaplainries. One of these was the long standing holder of the Magdalen altar, Mr Hector Myrtoun.(60) Hector Boece was granted the town's service of St Ninian in 1505, but it is highly unlikely that he ever served in person.(61) In other cases record of service by a deputy is more explicit. The university's second mediciner, Mr Robert Gray, held the chaplainry of St Barbara founded by his father, a burghess of Aberdeen, from its foundation until 1557. He does not appear to have served this personally, but by a substitute. His nephew and successor, Mr Andrew Gray, on the other hand, affords a contrast, having been received into the college of St Nicholas' on sir John Black's recommendation as a qualified chorister.(62)

c)

Kinship and Patronage in the Burgh Kirk:

The gift of an ecclesiastical benefice offered a valuable means of provision for the patron's kinsfolk. The potential for abuse was considerable and where this involved the highest offices of the kirk the results could be spectacular. The right won by James III to recommend and later to appoint candidates to greater benefices was utilised fully. The archbishopric of St Andrews was first filled by his twenty-one year old son, and subsequently by James IV's eleven-year old illegitimate child. In his turn James V accommodated his own bastard progeny with grants of the greater monasteries "in commendam". On a humbler scale a canonry or parish clerkship frequently became a sinecure for an absentee with neither qualification nor inclination to the clerical life.

The great advantage of the private chantry over the endowment of an existing parish priest or religious corporation was the power retained by the founder and his heirs to benefit a living ecclesiastic. That a foundation should be served by kin and descendants was a common intention. Writing of continental chantries, and in particular those of the German towns, Wood-Legh noted that the founders appeared at times "as much concerned to create livings for clerical members of their families as to provide for the welfare of their own souls."<sup>(1)</sup> On occasion this was taken so far as to name the various clerical kinsfolk to whom the benefice should pass in succession. MacEwen suggested that the founders of collegiate churches "apparently combined pious intentions with a desire to create comfortable positions for members of their families by amalgamating the benefices of which they were patrons."<sup>(2)</sup> To what extent did the patrons of burgh chantries conform with this tendency, and to what extent did the promotion of one's bloodstock compromise the function of the chantry?

Where foundation charters of chantries survive, they indicate that the initial presentation to a newly founded service was indeed commonly made to a kinsman. In 1472 Matthew Fechat, burgess of Aberdeen, had newly endowed an altarage in the parish church,

dedicated to St Michael. As chaplain he named his grandson, John Colison, "clericus", the second son of David Colison, burgess, and Fechat's daughter, Agnes. In the event of John's death the service was to pass to another son of David Colison, "begotten or to be begotten, between him and Agnes Fechat, my daughter and his wife, or to a fit chaplain serving in his stead, ... aye and until he has been canonically promoted to the presbyterate, and so on, aye and until the said David and Agnes, his wife have a son to serve this chaplaincy, who before the others, shall be promoted to it." (3) In 1491 the first chaplain presented by Thomas Prat, burgess of Aberdeen to the newly founded service of SS Thomas Apostle and George Martyr was his son, sir John Prat. (4) Mr Robert Gray, later the mediciner at King's College, was the first chaplain of the service founded at St Barbara's altar by his father, Patrick, a burgess of Aberdeen. (5)

Even where documentation of terms of endowment and of presentation has not been preserved, this same concern is evident. Gray's successor as celebrant at St Barbara's altar was his nephew, Mr Andrew Gray. By 1490 the gift of Stephen of Balrorny's chantry of St Stephen had passed into the hands of the Colison family. Of the seven chaplains known to have served this between 1490 and 1560, three bore the family surname. Sir Andrew Colison held the service concurrently with the family's other altarage of St Michael. (6) Of the five chantrists of the chaplainry of St Martin, founded in 1492 by Mr Thomas Waus, three shared the founder's surname. At least one of these, sir John Waus, also held the family's service of St Katherine. (7) The altar of the Three Kings was founded around 1510 by the burgess, Patrick Leslie, who infeft Mr Gavin Leslie as the first chaplain. By 1559 the service had passed into the gift of Leslie of Balquhain from whom Mr Andrew Leslie received an expectative presentation, when the chaplainry should become vacant by the resignation or demise of its then holder, Mr John Nicholson. (8)

This preference for kinsfolk was widespread. Patrick Baroune's endowment of a chantry at the altar of St Andrew in St Giles', Edinburgh, stipulated that the service should be granted before all others to a suitable chaplain of his own family, or else a chaplain bearing the founder's name. (9) In 1529 Mr Thomas Leis, the subdean

of Dunblane and vicar of Dreghorn founded a chaplainry at the altar of the Virgin in the parish church of Cadder. If any offspring of Robert Watson and the founder's cousin, Helen Leis, were in priest's orders and judged suitable, he was to be promoted in preference to all others.(10)

Kinsfolk were to benefit from other forms of bequest. In 1501/2 Mr Duncan Scherar, a burgess son of Aberdeen and a former chaplain in St Nicholas', augmented the rental of St Andrew's chaplainry in the cathedral of Aberdeen. As a part of this gift he endowed a bursary in the New College for "a student of arts of my own blood, if such be found apt for literary studies". Sir John Litstar, one of the chaplains of the choir of St Nicholas', bequeathed a parchment breviary to be given to a fit chaplain, "firstly to his kinsman promoted to be priest, for the whole time of his life or residence within the burgh of Aberdeen".(11)

The identity of the surname of the presentee with that of the patron is naturally an insufficient indication of preferment due to kinship. Between 1440 and 1560 only 20 of the 94 known altarists serving private chantries in the church of St Nicholas shared the surname of their service's patron. Yet the intricacies of family alliance and intermarriage are obscured by the imperfection of record, and their widespread ramifications undoubtedly account for a much higher number of presentations. This is illustrated by the service of SS Thomas and George, founded by the burgess family of Prat. The first chaplain, sir John Prat, was a son of the founder. No relationship is known between the Prats and his successor, Sir William Coupar, who was, however, a native of the burgh and made provision for the commemoration of Elizabeth Prat in his anniversary.(12) In default of male heirs, the gift of the chantry passed to the founder's granddaughters and their spouses. On Coupar's death in 1539, possession of the service was given to Mr Andrew Cullen, the son of the provost, by Elizabeth Prat's first husband, Robert Cullen. In turn, on his death, Elizabeth presented sir William Walker, evidently a kinsman of her late second husband.(13) The chamberlain of Aberdeen and vicar of Nigg, sir Andrew Scherar, served the Reid chaplainry of St Christopher during the 1520s, but was also related

by marriage to the patron of the second, Matheson, service at the altar.(14) Only one of the eight known chaplains of the Forbes chantry of St Anne bore the family name. Nevertheless, that it was served by Mr Thomas Chalmer, who was presented in 1501/02, and by Mr Duncan Chalmer, who resigned in 1523 in favour of Mr Alexander Forbes, is suggestive of a relationship between the two families. Mr Alexander Forbes's successor, Mr Robert Schand, probably owed his presentation to his Forbes mother.(15) Two other cases of kinsmen succeeding each other in an altarage are likely to be a consequence of ties of blood or of obligation. In 1477 sir Robert Leis, a burgess son, appears as chaplain of the Menzies chantry of St Sebastian, which he seems to have retained until his death in 1496/97, when he was succeeded by sir David Leis.(16) Between 1531 and 1546 the Cullen altar of the Holy Blood was served by Mr David Mackison and his successor Mr Robert Mackison.(17)

Documentation of parentage or origin is inevitably fragmentary, but some impression may be gained from the following figures. Of the 94 chaplains serving private altarages between 1440 and 1560, 15 are known burgess sons, 26 had other burgess or indweller relations, and a further 10 had kin within the burgh but of unknown relationship. In addition to these a number had ties with local landowners. Mr John Kennedy was a clerk of the diocese of Aberdeen, and was probably related to the Kennedys of Kermuck. Mr John Marschell, although a clerk of Moray, appear to have been related to the Marschells of Auchterellon. Mr Duncan Chalmer was the son of William Chalmer of Balnacrag in the parish of Nigg. Mr William Meldrum declared himself a descendant of Meldrum of Fyvie. Sir Walter Blair, who held the Brown Cross altar in 1522 was the son of a burgess of Banff who had held property in Aberdeen.(18) Two individuals had no obvious connection with the burgh and its families. Sir John Stirling, chaplain of St Katherine, was a priest of St Andrews diocese, and was probably related to the Stirlings of Braikie, near Montrose. He may have owed his initial promotion to the influence of the Carmelite prior of Aberdeen in the 1460s, Peter Stirling. Another Angus man was David Carnegie, the son of Robert Carnegie of Kinnaird, who was presented by the Earl of Huntly to the altar of St Leonard in 1559.(19)



In a number of cases where patronage had been assigned to the burghal corporation the former patron's kin were still to receive preferential advancement. In 1521 William Kemp, a burghess of Haddington, and founder of a chantry at the altar of St James in the parish church, surrendered his mortification and patronage to the burgh for a yearly payment of £10. He granted this on the condition that upon the death of the then chaplain, the service should be given to the children of John Waus or John Kemp, should any be qualified.(20) In February 1540/41 Alexander Scott, provost of the college kirk of Corstorphine, endowed a chaplainry at the altar of SS John Baptist, Christopher Martyr and Ninian the Bishop, in the nave of the parish church of Irvine. On his death, patronage was to pass to the baillies of the burgh. Within fifteen days of a vacancy these were to present "a chaplain endowed with the sacred order of priesthood, of my own kindred and blood in preference to others of foreign blood, sufficiently instructed in the Gregorian chant, at least of laudable knowledge, otherwise suitable in manners and life and defamed with no public vice or notorious crime".(21) Scott's stipulations exemplify the concern with the fitness of the chaplain and his ability to carry out his duties in a competent and dignified manner.

Where the council had powers of free disposal, local particularism is conspicuous as a policy. In 1458 the burgh council of Peebles set out the preferred qualifications of its chaplains: "It is ordanit be the balyeis and the hale communitie that in tym to cum thair be na chapellane present na put to na service that is foundyt or sal be foundyt in Sanct Androwis kyrk or within the parochyn, to the qwhilkis the balyeis and the communitie of Peblis ar tutowris keparis or gouernowris, bot that can syng playn syng at the lests, . . qwhilk chapellane sal be a burges son of the town gif sic ane may be gottyn abil thairfor, the qwhilk sal be chosyn be the balyeis with the consent of the hale communtie and noch at the request of na singlar person".(22) Fifty years later in Aberdeen the same intent was expressed in similar terms. In 1508 the provost, baillies and council of Aberdeen ordained that "ale thare perpetuale chaplanreis and Sanct Thomas hospital being at thare gift, donatioun and presentatioun salbe gevin perpetualie tile sangstaris that can syng

plane sang and prike sang at the leste and speciale to barnis burges sonnys and native menne borne of the toune before ale uthiris".(23)

Some indication of the degree to which this same policy was followed by the council of Aberdeen is given by presentations to services in its gift. Of the 59 chaplains who served the burgh's altars between 1440 and 1560, 14 are documented as burgess sons, another 16 appear in association with Aberdonian kinsfolk, and two with individuals of the same surname but unknown relationship. Another three are at least described as of Aberdeen diocese. Against these 35 documented natives, only three, sir John Stirling, Mr William Strachan and Mr Hector Boece, were from outwith the diocese. Both Boece and Strachan were intimates of Bishop Elphinstone in the early years of the university and may have owed the favour shown them by the burgh to his influence.

Given the nature of the evidence, it is too much to hope to determine the origins of all individuals. The following table is derived from specific statements of relationship and diocese or from instances of an unstated but obvious relationship, concerning all 133 altarists of both private and burgh services.

	<u>Aberdeen diocese</u>	<u>Diocese unstated</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Burgess sons:</u>	7	16	23
<u>Other burgess or indweller kin:</u>	4	24	28
<u>Kin in burgh, though uncertain relationship:</u>	4	12	16
<u>Otherwise known Aberdeen diocese:</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>
<u>Total</u>	21	52	73

These numbers do not take into account those individuals whose name points to an otherwise unstated local tie, nor yet to that unknown, though numerous, group whose kinship is obscured by the limitations

of the record. To only thirty of the known Aberdeen altarists is a diocese attributed.

<u>Diocese:</u>	
Aberdeen	21
Brechin	3
Dunkeld	2
Glasgow	1
Moray	1
St Andrews	2

As this small number is spread over a period of more than a century, it would be unwise to place too great a value upon any detailed interpretation. Conclusions drawn from this alone would be subject to some distortion as the information is derived primarily from notarial attestations and may consequently refer to more able and thus more mobile individuals. One such wave of aliens was that of the 1490s associated with Elphinstone's foundation of the university. As can be seen from the above table, only one in three of this group are described as of a diocese other than Aberdeen, and of these nine, at least three were of a local family. The stated diocese presents a difficulty in that it represents the diocese of ordination rather than birth. In the majority of cases these might be expected to be identical. Among the exceptions Mr David Menzies, though a "nychtbour sone", is described as of St Andrews diocese.(24) Though Mr David Nicholson was of Aberdeen diocese, his son, Mr John, described himself in his notarial attestation as a priest of the diocese of Dunkeld.(25) As was noted above, Mr John Marschell, though of Moray diocese may have been of the parish of Ellon.(26) Two of the three chaplains of Brechin diocese were related to the Strachans of Thornton in the Mearns and to their kin within the burgh of Aberdeen.(27)

Yet simple ties of kinship were insufficient guarantee of advancement. In 1458 the council of Aberdeen ordained that if "ony chaplancie or service perpetuale or temporale beyng at the presentation or disposition of the communitie of this burgh happynis to vake sic chaplancie or service sal be erast disponit and providit to the chaplanys tha kan best and makis continuale service in the

[said kirk] be avise and counsaile of the vicar and chaplanys forsaid".(28) In November 1556 sir John Black, master of the sang school, asserted before the baillies of the town that "thair is certane rumes and places vacand amangis thame for qualifeit persenis to be resavit . . be the avyse of the saidis prowest baillies and consell". Black then presented Mr Andrew Gray, possibly to be identified with a former pupil of the sang school, as "ane cunning and qualefeit perseune". Gray was duly admitted by the baillies to a place among the chaplains of the college.(29)

Whereas a private patron allowed his pious intent to be coloured by disposals for his posterity, the principal concern of the burgh council was the maintenance of dignified service in its choir. The corporate nature of the council militated against the more blatant abuse of its revenues by one of its component families for the advancement of an unqualified individual only to be recommended by his blood. Expectative presentations even to burgess sons or local landed families were consequently liable to be suspended in favour of better qualified candidates. In 1467 sir Henry Hervy was granted the town's service of St Michael, despite the protests of Mr Duncan Scherar that he had received the council's promise of the first vacant chaplainry at its gift. The provost and baillies declared that "thai nicht nocht gudely forga the service of the said sir Henry fra the service of queir, but pledged that Scherar or any of his friends that ar gaynande and sufficiande therefor might have the next vacancy".(30)

This same concern was displayed by councils throughout Scotland. The burgh council of Peebles ordained in 1445 that if the community should fee any chaplain "for meide, prayer, cusynage, or alya or for ony cause, that can nocht sufficiandly syng playn sang" he was to be removed by the vicar or curate and his place filled by a competent chaplain. The council of Linlithgow likewise ordained that neighbours' bairns of the burgh "being like qualified in music to others extranes, be first admitted to alterages, and the maist kennand and best conditionat first".(31)

The gift of the chaplainry of Our Lady in the Geddes Aisle of Peebles parish church latterly pertained to the council. On its vacancy by the death of sir James Dickson in 1532, a baillie, William Tweedy, chaired the appointment of his successor, sir John Tweedy. Only a week later, a second meeting of the community, this time convened by John Hogg, another baillie, elected sir John Kerr to the same chaplainry. It was stated that having been examined by the council and the dean and choristers of the church, Tweedy, although a priest, had been found unlearned in church song. In contrast Kerr was judged to be skilled in both reading and chanting. The only dissenters were Gilbert and Adam Dickson, both of whom were present at the first election, and were probably relatives of the deceased sir James Dickson.(32) In June 1499 sir Finlay Kirkwood claimed in the burgh court of Irvine that he was chaplain of the town's service of St Ninian in the parish church. Kirkwood pressed the fact that he was a native son of the town, but admitted that he was no singer. He petitioned the baillies to allow him to continue in the service for a further year, during which he undertook to hire a youth who could sing for him in the choir. Thereafter he would resign the chaplainry into their hands to be at their free disposition. The petition was rejected.(33)

A case in which the council deviated from strict adherence to this policy serves to illustrate its practical application. In spite of his probable absenteeism, in 1539 Mr James Menzies, rector of Dunottar, received a grant of the town's altar of St Peter, vacant by the death of sir William Coupar. Clearly he owed this donation to his family's influence within the council, as his father was then provost. The council nevertheless made the grant conditional upon his refunding ten pounds to the burgh for the maintenance of a chorister in the choir of the burgh kirk.(34)

Mr David Menzies illustrates the plurality of services which could be accumulated by a chantrist of a major burgess family through the closely knit relationships of the council oligarchy. His first known service is that of St Ninian, to which he was given a presentation by Irvine of Drum in 1491.(35) It is not certain that he ever served this altar, as he was furth of the burgh at the time,

and Mr William Colison was granted its administration until he should return.(36) Between 1502 and 1505 he occurs as chaplain of the Hammermens' altar of St Eloy over the selection of whose chaplain the burgh council exercised considerable influence.(37) On Sir William Cruickshank's death the burgh presented him, "thair traist clerk and nychtbour sone", to its chantry of St Duthac, which he resigned in 1505/6 in exchange for the other burgh service of St Peter.(38) This he retained until his death in 1529.(39) In 1504/5 he was presented to the altar of St Katherine in St Machar's.(40) He was described as being one of the nearest and legitimate heirs of his maternal uncle, Matthew Fechat, and between 1511 and 1518 he is found serving the Fechat/Colison chantry of St Michael.(41) In 1512 he was presented to a second service of St Peter in St Nicholas'.(42) This had been founded by Thomas Blinsel, but had by then passed into the hands of Gilbert Menzies and his heirs. Of the seven chantries Menzies is known to have served, two were in the private patronage of his kinsmen, and another two were in the gift or under the influence of the burgh council.

The council of Aberdeen was dominated in the sixteenth century by the family of Menzies. Between 1501 and 1560 the family occupied the office of provost with little interruption. Gilbert Menzies of Findon held the post for twenty-four years, and Thomas Menzies for twenty-five years. Nevertheless, presentations to services in the gift of the burgh do not proclaim this influence. In this same period, of the sixty-six known presentations to burgh chaplainries, only five were to bearers of that family name, but involving only three individuals, Mr David, Mr James, and Mr Edward Menzies. Mr James was granted the town's service of St Peter in 1539, and Mr Edward the Holy Rood in 1543.(43) This does not of course take in to account chaplains of other name owing their advancement to kinship with this family. On his promotion to the town's service of St Peter in 1505/6, Mr David Menzies resigned the burgh service of St Duthac in the hands of his patrons, in favour of his cousin, sir David Waus (II).(44) Two years later Waus himself was granted the hospital of St Thomas, again in the gift of the burgh.(45) A second instance is that of Mr David Nicholson, who held the town's service of St John Evangelist from 1522.(46) In 1537 he occurs as chaplain

of the Fechat/Colison chantry of St Michael, in which he succeeded Mr David Menzies.(47) Nicholson's mother was a Menzies, a kinship which presumably also assisted him towards the posts of depute common clerk and clerk of the sheriff court.(48)

Mr Thomas Chalmer similarly owed advancement to his kin and to their prominence within the burgh council. As said above, his connection with the Forbes family is not known, but some tie of kin is likely to explain the gift in 1501/2 of the service of St Anne.(49) His mother, Elizabeth Blindsel, was probably the daughter of Robert Blindsel, who in 1504 gave Mr Thomas sasine of the endowments of the newly built chapel of St Ninian on the Castlehill.(50) On Mr Alexander Fife's demise in 1504/5 he was presented to the town's altar of the Blessed Virgin which he retained until his own death.(51) From 1509 he acted as curate of Aberdeen, over the appointment of which the burgh council exercised some influence.(52) From at least 1516/17 he held the Chalmer altarage of St Katherine.(53)

Yet if the emphasis was on the necessity of a qualified chaplain, on occasion the burgh, like the private patron, was prepared to admit to some degree of flexibility regarding underqualified or unqualified staff. In October 1556 the council of Stirling granted to sir John Stoddart the Rood altar, vacant by the dimission of sir Alexander Aikin. William Smart was to stand surety "that the said sir Johne sal study continualie quhill he be cunnand in prikat sang".(54) In November 1557 the council of Edinburgh granted the chaplainry of St Andrew to Rob Craig, "quha promisit him to be ane prist within twa yeiris", or else to renounce his prebend.(55) In July 1559 the burgh of Peebles elected Gilbert Tweedy, doubtless a kinsman of the sir John Tweedy rejected in 1532, to the service of the Geddes aisle.(56) On this occasion, the presentee was not yet even in full orders, but the council made the gift conditional on his promotion within a year and a day.

In the absence of episcopal registers there is no detailed record of clerical promotions and ordinations, yet some picture of the process can be built up from scattered references. The issue is somewhat



obscured by the various titles attributed to the clergy. 'Capellanus' was employed merely as a general term to indicate an individual in orders, although not necessarily the priesthood nor the possessor of a 'capellania'. Deacons and subdeacons also appear as 'capellanus'. The title 'dominus' was a simple honorific title, applied to a non-graduate chaplain. The specific titles of 'presbyter' or 'sacerdos' occur more rarely, and then in a formal context, such as a notarial attestation.(57) The same individual appearing in a witness list would generally be described as 'capellanus'. 'Diaconus' occurs infrequently, as for grades below the presbyterate the term 'clericus' was commonly employed without distinction. By the fifteenth century the term 'clericus' was employed in a more restricted sense, but might still be used loosely. Sir David Leis appears as a priest in both 1494 and 1514, but in a witness list of 1503 appears as 'clericus'.(58)

Of the 53 altarists to whom titles are ascribed, 43 were presbyters, 10 clerks. The progress of sir David Liel is relatively well documented. He appears as plain David Liel in 1496, as a 'clericus' in May 1503, as 'sir' and 'chaplain' in December 1503, and as a 'presbyter' in Aug 1504.(59) Two students of King's College, both of whom later served the burgh grammar school, were to receive a more rapid promotion. As a consequence of the rectorial visitation of August 1549 Mr James Chalmer and Mr John Henderson, students in theology, were required under pain of deprivation of their burses to proceed to holy orders, beginning with their entry to minor orders by All Saints, to the subdiaconate by Christmas, and thereafter to the diaconate by the following Easter.(60)

The conflict between familial demands and the legal restrictions which protected a chantry's endowment was resolved by a compromise by which individuals were presented to the chaplainry while not in full orders. Mr Thomas Chalmer received at least two chaplainries while still a clerk, one of which was a presentation by a kinsman.(61) When presented by his grandfather to the altar of St Michael in 1472 John Colison was still in clerk's orders.(62) Colison may not have been a priest even in 1497 when he was presented by the abbot of Arbroath to the vicarage of Inverness.(63) The Earl of Huntly's

gift in 1520 of St Leonard's altar to John Gordon, 'clericus', called for his promotion to the priesthood so soon as possible. Until then the altar was to be served by another, suitable ("idoneus") substitute.(64) Sir John Prat, first chaplain at his father's chantry may have remained in clerk's orders at least as late as 1503.(65) Mr Andrew Leslie, granted an expectative presentation to the Balquhain altar of the Three Kings was also still in clerks orders.(66) In 1551 Mr Edward Menzies, chaplain of St Katherine's altar, resigned his right in the hands of the patron, Thomas Chalmer, who then inducted a scholar, Andrew Malison, the son of Gilbert Malison. Menzies was, however, to remain at the altar as the boy's substitute.(67)

The practice was widespread. In 1558 George Towris of Inverleith, patron of the chaplainry of St Anne in the parish church of St Guthbert's, Edinburgh, granted the service vacant by the decease of its chaplain, to his second son David, and to sir James Duncanson, chaplain, in order that the latter might celebrate divine offices there until David reached his perfect age, with power to appoint another chaplain under him with their consent. Sir James undertook not to allege any title to the chaplainry or to its emoluments, but only to intromit with it in the name of David.(68) The endowment of an altar in St Giles' by Alexander Rynde, a burgess of Edinburgh, laid down that if the patron had a son already a priest, or intending to become so within three or four years, he should receive the service, causing two masses to be said at the altar each week. Otherwise the service should be granted to a suitable relative.(69)

The corporation of Aberdeen took a more restrained attitude, presenting only one unqualified youth to an altar, and this a special grace granted to a long standing and valued servant. Sir John Stirling had served as scribe of the burgh court since at least 1494, and had been granted the post of depute common clerk in 1502. His bastard son received a legitimation under the Privy Seal in 1505.(70) Three years later Stirling resigned his service of St John Evangelist in the hands of the burgh, which in consideration of his labours and the request of the Earl Marischal, granted it to his son. Stirling's close associate and fellow servant of the Earl, sir Robert

Martin, was to act as his substitute.(71) John Stirling the younger does not appear to have followed his father's vocation, and is probably to be identified with a later layman of that name.

"The kin" has always been a potent element in Scottish life, and the richer the benefice, the stronger was the desire to keep it in the family. Inevitably this discrimination implied some compromise of standards.(72) Service by a competent deputy drawn from the qualified chaplains of the choir may have both satisfied the patron and fulfilled the requirements of daily service, yet where such absenteeism involved the diversion of any portion of the revenues, this could only constitute an abuse of the spirit of the foundation and a depreciation of the value of the mass. There are difficulties in any attempt to generalise the effect upon service by the widespread practice by private patrons of the presentation of an unqualified or absentee chaplain. Such a chaplainry stood in peril of declining into a sinecure, yet repeatedly the condition was made that it should be served by a qualified chaplain until the presentee could be promoted to the presbyterate. Preferment of kinsfolk was not to be permitted to jeopardise the efficacy of continual intercessory celebration.

The overall impression given is that of choir and altars largely served by men and boys of native origin or kindred. Ability and local particularism were not incompatible. The council of Aberdeen emphasised the importance of education of the "barnis burges sonnys" of the burgh. The bulk of surviving information is concerned with the corporate patronage of the burgh which can be seen to counter the more blatant abuses of private patrons, yet those chaplains serving private chantries were in many cases those also hired by the burgh to sing within its choir and to serve at its own altars. The burgesses of Aberdeen were not alone in their concern with quality of service. Statutes were passed by burghal authorities throughout Scotland, declaring their interest in kinsfolk and those native born of the burgh, yet placing this consideration second to ability. The desire

that local men should serve at an altar might also be justified on the grounds that these would be sufficiently well known for their qualities and life to be fairly judged.

d) The chaplains of St Nicholas' outwith the church

The activities of the staff of St Nicholas' were neither restricted to the church, nor to the town. The closeness of burgh and church is illustrated by the active role in council affairs taken by a number of the chaplains, and in particular those possessed of legal and administrative ability. In the 1470s and 1480s sir Andrew Wricht served as master of kirk work.(1) In 1529 sir William Coupar and sir Andrew Scherar were commissioned to receive the moneys assigned by the council to the projected walling of the town, and in the following year Coupar was named as deputy master of the kirk work.(2) More than one in ten of the altarists of St Nicholas' were notaries, deriving a second income from the charters and instruments demanded by the merchants, craftsmen and clergy of both Aberdeens, and by the lairds and nobles of the surrounding country. Sir John Stirling was a frequent visitor to Dunottar in the service of the Earl Marischal, and on one occasion appears in Edinburgh on the business of his probable kinsman, Stirling of Braikie.(3) As legal agents these notaries fulfilled a range of missions and roles. In 1528 Mr Thomas Annan was appointed one of the burgh's proctors to appear before the king's council in Edinburgh.(4) Mr David Nicholson was chosen as one of the two commissioners of the town in August 1522 to pass to the lord governor to negotiate for licence to remain from the host then summoned to assemble on Roslin Muir.(5) Sir John Stirling, Mr David Nicholson, and Mr John Kennedy were successive clerks of the burgh court. Nicholson and Kennedy also served as clerks of the sheriff court.(6) Between 1454 and 1479 sir Robert Leis, sir John Chalmer, sir Andrew Wricht and sir David Waus were received as burgesses of gild.(7) Leis and Wricht were received by reason of their paternity, but this may also have been an early recognition of their abilities. Although Leis is not described as depute common clerk, it is likely that he later served as such.

Several altarists were active in Old Aberdeen and the diocesan hierarchy. Mr David and Mr Robert Mackison, both notaries, served as clerks of the commissary court.(8) However, as was the case with other canons and members of the university who held a service within

other canons and members of the university who held a service within St Nicholas', their association with the latter may have been limited. Sir Robert Allardice, who served in St Nicholas' as chaplain of the Fyvie altarage of St Ninian in 1544/5, later appears as vicar of Auchterless and dean of the Garioch.(9) Allardice's predecessor as dean, sir Andrew Scherar, held the vicarage of Nigg and was probably resident in Aberdeen where he held a chaplainry of St Christopher. Scherar appears in 1523 and 1524/25 as chamberlain of Aberdeen. He also held the Westhall service at the altar of St Ninian in the cathedral, at which he was succeeded by Mr John Burnet, himself chaplain of the Drum altarage of St Ninian in St Nicholas'.(10)

Pluralism of benefices among the altarists of St Nicholas' was not restricted to absentees such as Mr Gavin Leslie and Mr Robert Schand, respectively canons of Moray and Ross.(11) Even the resident chaplains of the parish church commonly held parochial or other benefices, generally within the immediate hinterland of Aberdeen, but a few in distant parts of the diocese or even beyond. Abiding by the terms of residence in one church, the chaplains of the college of St Nicholas' were themselves commonly absentees in another. Though resident in Aberdeen, the curate sir David Waus held the vicarages of both Banff and Inverboyndie.(12) In many cases it is difficult to determine whether the chaplain was first promoted to this benefice or diocesan office, or whether he already held these on receiving presentation to the altar. Sir John Kid, who resigned the town's chaplainry of St John Evangelist in 1483, appears as vicar of Durriss from 1487. His dimission of the service was possibly a consequence of his promotion to this benefice.(13) Mr Duncan Chalmer served the Forbes altar of St Anne in Aberdeen until 1523 when the chaplainry was said to be vacant by his inability. The disqualification was not stated, but was probably related to his increased interests and commitments elsewhere. In 1525/26 he received provision to the chancellorship of Ross and, later that same year, presentation under the Privy Seal to the chapel of the Blessed Virgin of Rattray. He resigned this after a few months to Mr Robert Anderson, possibly to be identified with a later altarist of St Nicholas'.(14) Chapels outwith the town were held by a number of other chaplains of St

Nicholas'. In 1519 Mr Thomas Chalmer (II) received presentation under the Privy Seal to the Collihill chaplainry in the chapel of Garioch.(15) In 1547 Mr John Nicholson was granted the chaplainry of St Nachtlan of Cowie by Menzies of Pitfoddels.(16) In the same year Mr David Mackison received presentation to a service in the same chapel under the Privy Seal.(17) On 10 March 1520/21 sir James Barclay was elected parish clerk of Banchory, an office annexed to the chaplainry of the Blessed Virgin Mary in that church. The post called for the chaplain to serve the duties of parish clerk, and to celebrate a Sunday mass and two other masses each week at the altar.(18) It is a matter of conjecture how far these duties would have been performed in person.

Conditions of residence might be discounted by those frustrated by delayed promotion. On 17 August 1523 the council paid sir Richard Anderson the arrears of his pension and called upon him to return to the town by Whitsun, there to make residence. If he failed to comply, he would be discharged.(19) At the request of an influential patron the council granted licence for absence from the town's service. In 1471 Mr John Chalmer was given leave to remain in the King's service for five years without prejudice to his chaplainry of the town's hospital of St Thomas.(20) Mr David Menzies, a close associate of Bishop Elphinstone, was granted licence in 1509 to pass wheresoever he should be directed on errands, after the tenor of the Bishop's request.(21) The request of a local magnate for the advancement of his familiars also bore weight. In 1508, when the burgh council gave its chaplainry of St John Evangelist to sir John Stirling's legitimated son, it was at the request of the Earl Marischal. It was the Earl's seneschal and chamberlain, sir Robert Martin, who was conducted to serve as substitute.(22) In January 1484/85 the council settled conflicting claims to the first chaplainry at its gift. Mr Alexander Fife, chaplain of the town's altar of St Michael, had been promised Our Lady altar when it was next at the disposal of the council. At the request of the Earl of Errol, sir Walter Young was promised that of St Michael when it should fall vacant by Fife's promotion.(23)



With the patron's consent a number of chaplainries declined into sinecures. At his death in 1489 sir Alexander Vocat was in possession of the chapel of the Blessed Virgin at Reras in Fife. This had been founded by Sir John Wemyss prior to 1449, and the patronage resigned to the Forbeses with the barony in 1477.(24) Vocat's tenure of the office was evidently as an absentee. Although it is not known if he possessed this prior to the Reformation, by 1574 the vicar of Aberdeen, sir John Colison (II), held the Knollis service at the altar of St Mary Magdalen in St Giles' of Edinburgh.(25) The affect of pluralism of benefice and office is difficult to evaluate. Vocat and Colison may have served their Fife and Edinburgh chaplainries by a substitute, or possibly "in absentia" while celebrating at their altars in Aberdeen. Licence was granted to Mr Andrew Craufurd in January 1504/5 "to pass quharever he emplessis prayand for the saulis of the fondoris" in return for the repair of a ruinous tenement belonging to his altar of St Peter.(26) The notarial duties of a chaplain, even of the common scribe of the burgh, are unlikely to have been so onerous as to conflict with the duties of a chantrist or parish priest. It is not inconceivable that Mr David Nicholson, chaplain of numerous alterages in both St Nicholas' and St Machar's, common clerk and sheriff clerk, was capable of some personal service in his office as vicar of the nearby parish church of Maryculter.(27)

The "barnis burges sonis" of the parish church were no benighted, inbred community. Travel to the continent for trade or education took burgesses of Aberdeen to the Baltic, Germany, the Low Countries and France, and with them a steady trickle of students bound for Paris, Louvain and Köln. The influence of the Low Countries was all pervasive in economy, culture and religion, and formed the main artery by which entered new thought and practices. Taking advantage of ships bearing salmon to Flanders numbers of pilgrims visited the shrine of St John Baptist at Amiens. On 14 August 1506 the burgh council of Aberdeen granted licence to their chaplain of Our Lady altar, Mr Thomas Chalmer, to travel to "Sanct John of Anorass".(29) The laity of the town shared in this practice. In 1521 Thomas Menzies of Pitfoddels, John Colison and Thomas Menzies, all burgesses of Aberdeen, arranged their affairs in preparation for their

pilgrimage to Amiens.(30) On 9 December 1521 Andrew Craufurd asked Martin Johnson, skipper, for money received from the merchants of the town which was to have been delivered to Andrew "as he that was lottit to pass to the halybluid in douchpand, and the said schippar allegit that the said gudis suld pass one his bodyune to flandris and thar furneiss a persone to pass the said pilgroumag".(31) Flanders, with its attractions, both sacred and secular, was not the only destination. The wreck of a Spanish ship in the mouth of Aberdeen harbour in 1478/79 is indicative of Aberdeen's wider trading contacts.(32) Santiago de Compostella was a popular shrine. On 23 February 1494/95 the council granted licence to sir John Prat "to pass to Sanct James his pilgrimage but preiudice to his chaplanry of the croice altar", which was to be served in his absence by sir Matthew Nicholson.(33) On 26 March 1507 Gilbert Litstar, burgess of Aberdeen, expressed his intent to set out on pilgrimage to Compostella and began to settle his affairs, causing the town bellman to pass through the burgh to warn all those with any claims upon him, either monetary debts or cloth delivered to him for litting, that he was ready to answer their claims.(34) On 5 March 1520/21, Mr Thomas Chalmer "peregrinaturus versus Sanctum Jacobum in Compostella" created the provost, Gilbert Menzies, and William Blindsel, tutors testamental to his daughters Agnes and Margaret Chalmer, resigning his lands in their favour. He had returned by 17 June 1521 to find "how he being without the realm" others of his kinsmen had attempted to reappropriate the endowments of his chaplainry of St Ninian on the Castlehill.(35)

The priest was both bound by a number of restrictive vows and possessed of privileges which, demanded by the dignity of his priestly calling, set him apart from the laity whom he served. Yet the position of the mediaeval cleric was one of uneasy elevation. Aquinas emphasised the unity of the clergy with lay society, but the manifest reality was the closely knit society of the burgh.

In a burgh whose church housed about fifty chantries and a college of sangsters, each infest in rents to be raised from properties in and around the town, few head or baillie courts passed without chaplains appearing in pursuit of outstanding rents or in defence of their

endowments, quite apart from properties which they held as private individuals. Sir William Coupar and his successors, sir John Cuming and Mr John Reid, fought against their neighbours' recurrent encroachment upon the common vennel which gave access to St Katherine's Chapel.(36) The lot of the chantry chaplain was sometimes precarious. Successive chaplains of the Cordiners had to appeal to the council and to the deacons of the craft to compel members to supply their allotted diet. In 1563 the deceased Hammermens' chaplain, sir John Goldsmith, was alleged to have sold the titles of St Eloy's altar "in his necessitie and indigence".(37)

However well justified, the pursuit of money could not reflect well upon the Church. In the intimacy of a small town respect and dignity were fragile commodities. In 1532 Mr Thomas Chalmer asked Patrick Forbes for an annual owed to him, "and thareafter ye said Patrick said ye devill ane penny at ever he wald pay him".(38) The pursuit of debts inevitably brought physical violence and verbal abuse. On 13 March 1472 James Nesse appeared in the baillie court of Aberdeen on a charge of disturbing the town and striking and verbally abusing a chaplain, sir William Scot. On 21 February 1474 David Galichtly was likewise charged with disturbing Scot.(39) The clergy were themselves not immune from such accusations. On 8 May 1480 sir John Stirling appealed from the burgh court to his ordinary against allegations of his harassing the servants of Gilbert Riburn and David Spens.(40) The suspension of service in the parish church caused by the shedding of blood during a dispute over sir John Fife's alleged sedition has already been noted.(41)

If litigation for the means of his own sustenance was an inescapable part of the chaplain's life, it was an obvious target of anticlerical satire, alongside the gluttonous monk and grasping friar. The celibacy of the priest was a standard, and justifiable, butt of humour. The tangled relationship of clergy and laity in the mediaeval burgh was encapsulated by Lindsay.

The Curate Kitte culd confesse,  
And scho tald on baith mair and lesse,  
Quhen scho was telland as scho wist,  
The Curate Kitte wald have kist,

Quod scho I wyll pas tyll ane uther;  
And I met with schir Andro my brother,  
And he full clenelie did me schryve,  
Bot he wes something talkatyve.(42)

The provincial council of 1549 lamented the profane lewdness of the clergy.(43) Although the surviving regulations for the chantries of St Nicholas' contain no such clauses, foundations elsewhere commonly stipulated sexual continence and prohibited association with women of ill-repute, or the maintenance of a concubine, the euphemistic domestic.(44) Such misbehaviour is among the most picturesque of their failings, but although much evidence is anecdotal there are clear indications that these might not be overly exaggerated. It has been demonstrated that between 1548 and 1556 two of every seven legitimations issued by the Crown were to the offspring of priests, and a similar level is true of the period 1488-1529.(45) There survives record of the children of at least nine chaplains associated with the church of St Nicholas. Mr David Nicholson had at least three sons, one of whom appears as a sangster, another a priest.(46) Margaret Gardner, the mother of sir John Stirling's son is the only mistress named.(46) Sir Robert Spark had one son, Mr William Meldrum two sons, one of whom himself was to become a chaplain, Mr Andrew Craufurd one son, sir Andrew Scherar three sons, Mr Duncan Chalmer a daughter, Mr Robert Schand two sons and two daughters.(47) Legimations were issued to two sons of sir David Runciman, a chaplain at Elgin, and a former chorister of St Nicholas'.(48) These cases are known only for the reason that legitimations were obtained under the Privy Seal. Stirling, or his cousin sir David Liel, also made note of his son's dispensation to take orders in the Sasine Register.(49) It is significant that the majority of these legitimations were granted to male children. The two daughters of the curate, Mr Thomas Chalmer, are only known through his having made provision for them on the occasion of his departure on pilgrimage.(50)

Documentation records primarily the negative aspects of the lives of the chaplains of the parish kirk, and portrays individuals as litigious, quarrelsome, avaricious and philandering. That the lost records of the ecclesiastical courts of Old Aberdeen dealt with many

litigious, quarrelsome, avaricious and philandering. That the lost records of the ecclesiastical courts of Old Aberdeen dealt with many other cases is not to be doubted. It cannot be denied that abuse was common, and the precarious state of the Church in the sixteenth century is borne out by its ultimate failure to counter the advances of heresy. The Church was undermined by numerous questionable practices. Grants of dispensations to underaged or underqualified individuals, combined with the evils of appropriation of revenues intended for the support of spiritual cure, left the fundamental unit of the Church, the parish, impoverished both morally and economically.

These documented failings of the chaplains of St Nicholas' are drawn from two hundred individuals and a century and a half of record. The faithful behaviour of the conscientious priest and chorister is rarely judged worthy of record. If the documentation deals with the less attractive aspects of life, it reflects, to some extent, the harsh reality of survival in that period.

The wholesale discharging of the burgh's sangsters of Aberdeen on no fewer than three occasions in the 1530s and 1540s must be balanced by the council's concern for those who had given good service. Both extremes occur in 1532/33 when the council discharged all its singers of the choir except sir Andrew Couper, described as an old man and a faithful servant of the town.(51) Where a diligent singer was unable to continue in his duties through age or affliction, the council continued to support him. Robert Binny had served the town for seventeen years, and had taken holy orders. In 1555 the council noted that he had become blind, but that in the past he had made continual service in the church as long as he had been able. For this the council granted that he should retain his quarter-clerkship and that the inhabitants of the town should support him until he be restored to his sight.(52) Similar cases are found elsewhere. An aged chaplain of Linlithgow, sir Henry Michell, was no longer capable of fulfilling his duties, yet the council permitted him to retain his altar and to pay another to serve in his place.(53) What is worthy of note is the number of chaplains who served for long periods in the parish church of St Nicholas. Sir Alexander Club is known to have

served in the church from 1461 until 1509.(54) Sir Robert Leis first appears in association with the church in 1449, and still served in it at his death in early 1496/97.(55) Both of these were former university students and not known to have held benefices outwith the church nor, in their long periods of service, to have incurred the censure of their employers.

The shortcomings of the documentary record prohibit any attempt to chart a decline in standards from the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. As late as 24 March 1543/44 the council of Aberdeen consented to sir Robert Straloch's admission to the first vacant stall in the choir "he being ane guid servand to god and ye toune and of guidly lyif."(56) Failings, both individual and occasionally corporate, must be seen in the context of a century of an unremarkable daily round of intercession. On 9 October 1458 the alderman and council of Aberdeen declared themselves well pleased with the staff of the burgh kirk. "Considering the gude observance and service upheld by the vicar and chaplains, and in hope of its continuation, the council ordained that thai sall have thair lairs quhen thai decess free in quhat place of the kirk it plesis thaim to ly of thair devocioun".(57) If such compensation was less tangible than its beneficiaries might have preferred, the evident satisfaction expressed by the burgesses of Aberdeen affords a refreshing contrast to the accepted stereotypes of "drunken Sir John Latinless" and "sir John Mumblemattins".

CHAPTER NINE

THE CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS AND THE REFORMATION IN ABERDEEN

Aberdeen's trading contacts with the Baltic and the Low Countries afforded a channel by which contraband literature penetrated the region at an early date. According to James V's letters to the sheriff of Aberdeen, published on 14 August 1525, Bishop Dunbar had shown that "syndry strangearis and otheris within his diocese of Aberdene, has bukis of that heretik Luthyr, and favoris his arrorys and fals opinionys incontrar oure act of Parliament laitlie maid". These sympathisers were to be sought out and their goods confiscated, their persons imprisoned.(1) It has been suggested that Mr John Marschell, the master of the grammar school, was an early Lutheran, but as has been shown above, his troubles arose not from heretical beliefs, but from his disregard of council authority.(2)

A series of cases indicate that Protestantism did indeed establish a foothold in the burgh. A number of Aberdonians were implicated in the trial of the Dominican, Friar Kelour, who was burned for heresy in February 1538/39. On 13 February the council commissioned the provost to travel to Edinburgh and there defend the burgh against accusations levelled against "diverse nyctbouris of the same" by Mr Walter Stewart and against the summons raised by Mr Andrew Leslie.(3) The provost, Thomas Menzies, was closely associated with Arran in the mid-1540s and with his pro-English and Protestant stance of that period. At Arran's request in May 1543 the council granted a chamber and three shillings daily to the renegade Dominicans John Roger and William Thomson, "for thair leill and trew lawtaful service to be done in preching and teching of the trew Vord of God".(4) On 1 December 1544 the two burgesses Thomas Branch and Thomas Cussing were to be detained in the tolbooth as alleged to have been involved in the hanging of an image of St Francis.(5) Arran was to prove an unreliable patron, and his volte face left Menzies exposed to those aggrieved both by his loyalty to the earl's policies, and his defence of the authority of Aberdeen's council. Compromised, Menzies was temporarily removed from office.(6)

As the ports of the eastern seaboard of Scotland facilitated the import and dissemination of Protestantism, so too did they afford a channel through which flowed the ideals of the internal reform of the



Catholic church. The seeds of the Counter-Reformation found fertile soil in the intellectual life of Old Aberdeen. The diocese of Aberdeen was the first in Scotland to attempt to implement Tridentine decrees, and to establish a programme of pastoral preaching.(7) Cross-fertilisation with other Scottish centres of religious and academic activity is suggested by Alexander Anderson, the sub-principal of King's, and John Watson having been students at St Andrews in 1551, at the time of the composition of Hamilton's Catechism.(8) There is little indication, however, of the actual impact of this reform upon the wider Church and laity. In 1559 the cathedral chapter recommended that Bishop Gordon cause the clergy of the diocese and of the chapter to reform their manner of life, putting away their concubines, under pain of the statute penalties of the provincial synods. Feuars of church properties were to be called upon to assist in the defence of the religion. Preachers were to be provided by those convents holding parish revenues, and absentee clergy were to be prosecuted. An admonition was to be read in the parish churches of New Aberdeen, Banchory-Ternan, Echt, Kinnernie, Midmar, Auchindoir and Kearn, by which those knowing anything of the burning of the church of Echt in 1558 should declare their knowledge to the bishop or his commissaries.(9) The chapter's request that Gordon himself set an example by removing his mistress and choosing his company more carefully, shunning those suspected of heresy, is some illustration of the handicaps under which the reformers laboured.

Aberdeen long remained a passive observer on the fringes of the disturbances. St John's church in Perth was sacked on 11 May 1559 in the course of a riot inspired by Knox's preaching, along with the mendicant and monastic houses. The following month the abbey of Scone and the churches of Crail, Anstruther and St Andrews were dealt with in the same manner. The deteriorating position was reflected on 16 June in a written petition to the burgh council of Aberdeen by the chaplains of St Nicholas'. This declared that it was "notowrly knawin that certane personis in to the southt partis of Scotland hes interpryssit at thair awin hands without ony ordor or consent of the autorite, to distroy kirks, religious places, and the ornaments and polacie of the same". The chaplains appealed to the council to

provide means of defence of the church, the preservation of its chalices, silver work, vestments and other ornaments "and to put the same in suir firmance and keiping quhill the said uproir and tumilt war put to tranquillite". The implications of such violent disturbances were apparent to the councillors who promptly removed the town's evidents from the parish church where they were customarily stored, along with the great eucharist and other church valuables. These were inventoried and put into the safekeeping of four burgesses. The same day the council ordained its officers to pass with the collector of the chaplains to distrain the college's outstanding rents.(10)

Customary service in St Nicholas' had been suspended by 30 October 1559, when sir John Black, master of the sang school, and sir John Colison, chaplain of Our Lady, appealed to the council in the name of their brethren of the college and choir for "entre to be patent to thaim in the said kirk and queir", undertaking to observe their foundations according to their vocation and duty. There is no indication whether this suspension was a consequence of the disturbances in the south or further dissatisfaction with the town's sangsters.(11)

On 29 December Thomas Menzies, the provost, announced to the assembled council that certain neighbours of the Mearns and Angus "convenit in congregatioune" were expected to reach the town that same day to destroy and cast down its churches and religious houses "under colour and pretence of godlie reformatioun". Menzies called upon the council to join with him and his helpers in resisting this incursion lest the town incur the wrath of the regent's government, to which it had so far remained loyal. His stand was supported by nine councillors, of whom three were of his own family, another a son-in-law. However, the baillies and the four other members of the council were not prepared to offer armed opposition to the rebels. All too aware of the likely course of events the Franciscans preempted the threatened invasion and resigned their entire possessions to the town and community, with the provision that should the Church be restored these should be returned to them.(12)

Menzies and his supporters chose discretion and departed from the burgh. Those of the council who remained appear to have taken no steps to oppose the actions of the Congregation, although their tolerance of the invaders may have derived less from conviction than caution. Nevertheless a number of the inhabitants of the burgh were prepared to take a more active role in the proceedings. On 4 January David Mar, a baillie and dean of gild, spoke to the council of how "certane strangearis, and sum nichtbours and induellaris of this burght, hes enterit to the blak freiris and quhyt freiris of this town, and spulzeit thair places, and taken away the gere and gudis of the samen, witht the tymmar wark and insicht, togidder with the leid of the kirkis, and now ar enterit upoun the ruiffis of the kirkis and biggings, and takand away the sklayttis, tymmir, and stanis thairof, applyand the samen to thair awin particular uses". Mar urged the council to take action to preserve these valuable materials and properties for the common works of the burgh, and in words which indicated his sympathies, "specialy for the furthsettin of Goddis glory, and his trew word and prechours thairof, and that the toune ma be the moir habill to concur and assist for the defence of the libertie of the realme, expelling of strangeris, and suppressing of ydolatrie". Of those present only Gilbert Colison, one of the provost's supporters on 29 December, dissented from the council's decision to intromit with the fabric and lands for the common weal.(13) By this appeal to burghal loyalty Mar had successfully exploited the council's collective possessiveness to bring about the seizure of the friaries' endowments and had temporarily gained the initiative for his own supporters and Protestant reform. Only in the course of the following week did Menzies' faction begin to reorganise.

On 8 January the Head Court chose four men to assist in the dismantling of the friaries. Gordon's map and Description suggest that this was carried out methodically. By the mid-seventeenth century only the Trinitarian and Franciscan friaries were intact, and all but fragments of the Dominicans and Carmelites swept away.

In the provost's absence his son Gilbert protested on his behalf and for five other members of the council, against the demolition of the

friaries and the utilisation of their fabric by the town. Disclaiming all responsibility they declared that this was "contrar the mynd of the authorite and manifest tressoune". The majority of the dissenters had been associated with Menzies' protest of 29 December. The baillies responded by pointing out that Menzies, despite being provost, had failed to make a stand at the beginning of the demolition, and that should the town be condemned for its actions, all whom they might prove to have taken a share in the materials should bear responsibility. The council ordained that the four burgesses who had received the ornaments of the church in June should again accept them into their care, although three of these four were among the protesters. These were warned to surrender the ornaments on the following Friday "to be applyit in the uses of the toun".(14)

As dean of gild, Mar presided over the gild court of the burgh four days later. At this those entrusted with the ornaments granted themselves willing to surrender the items contained in the inventory drawn up by Mr Robert Lumsden and Mr John Kennedy. Thomas Menzies, now returned, protested that he had been absent from the town during the meeting of 8 January and condemned the decisions taken by the baillies and the greater part of the council. He warned that although the destruction of the friaries had been undertaken by "sum extranears and sum dwelling within the toune, quharof the hail communitie wes nocht participant, bot for the maist part war innocent and fre of the said cryme", the completion of this work by the council and its employment of the proceeds would bring opprobrium upon the town as a whole. He went on to protest that the Protestant preachers sustained by the burgh had only been licensed by royal authority until 10 January, and their licence had thus expired. The town should make no payment, but leave their support to the bishop whose responsibility it was. Menzies thereupon dissociated himself and his adherents from the actions of the council. His allies also took note that they for the most part had been absent from the council of 8 January "and knew nocht of the publict ordinances anent the dountaking of ony kirkis or places".(15)

At nine o'clock on the following morning the four guardians appeared before the council assembled in the tolbooth and surrendered the great silver eucharist, the chalices of the altars of St Nicholas, St John Evangelist, the Blessed Virgin, the Holy Rood, St Peter, St Duthac and Our Lady of Piety, and those of the hospital of St Thomas, St Clement's and the chapel of the Blessed Virgin at the Bridge of Dee, along with censers, cruets and other silver ware, and various copes and vestments.(16) The council continued to defend its chaplains and choristers in their infestments. On 19 January, and again on 20 February, the officers of the burgh were commanded to pass with them to distraint for outstanding rents.(17)

Although the sixteen dissenters of 12 January represented the strongest assembly yet of conservative support, Mar's party had succeeded in pushing through a series of measures which the subsequent reaction proved wary of reversing lest it provoke further external interference. Thereafter Menzies and his supporters were restricted to a policy of damage limitation and avoidance of any confrontation with either Huntly or the Congregation. A policy of compromise and watchful conservatism prevented a breach which might be exploited by these forces. This caution was justified as Huntly wavered and temporarily changed sides. Aberdeen was able to form a limited association with the Congregation in the expulsion of the French, and by attending the Reformation Parliament in August, enabling the burgh to chose a moderate minister for the burgh's kirk.(18)

The kirk ornaments of Dundee had been disposed of as early as August 1559, their sale made conditional upon their alteration to prevent their restored use in Catholic ritual. Those of Edinburgh were disposed of by August 1560, and of Stirling in April 1561.(19) Those of Aberdeen survived somewhat longer in the safekeeping of the council. The eventual decision to sell the kirk's patrimony would appear to have been prompted less by acceptance of Protestant practice or simple corporate avarice than by news of the Queen's impending visit and fear of its appropriation.(20) On 7 December 1560 David Mar and Gilbert Menzies acknowledged the receipt of the brass work of the parish church, including eighteen "chandlars" from

the hearse of the choir, two great chandlars from the high altar, another which had illuminated the Sacrament - the Holy Blood light - pillars of the high altar's screen, the brass stand of the lectern, the font, and those lavers and tomb brasses not yet stolen. This remained in their care until 26 January 1561/62 when both silver and brass work, copes and ornaments, were roused and the proceeds applied to the common weal. The highest bidder was Patrick Menzies, who bought the whole for £540 scots. On 16 March sir William Walker was charged to surrender further minor possessions of the church. Gilbert Menzies and Gilbert Colison continued to protest against the proceedings, but in May 1562 the council determined to apply the moneys to the construction and repair of the quayhead and pier, to the bridge of Dee and to the artillery and munitions of the town.(21)

On 9 February 1561/62 Thomas Menzies and his erstwhile opponent, David Mar, rode to Edinburgh to negotiate with the Queen and Privy Council with regard to the disposal of the friaries. Six days later the Privy Council ordained that all rents of chaplainries, prebendaries and friaries within free burghs or other towns should be employed in the maintenance of hospitals, schools and other godly purposes. As the friaries were particularly well suited to these uses, it was ordained that the provost and baillies of Aberdeen, Elgin, Inverness, Glasgow and any other burgh where the buildings had not been demolished, should take possession and maintain them for the weal of the burgh until the Crown should make a final disposition.(22) The maintenance of the church fabric remained a heavy burden. On 12 January 1572/3 it was ordained that after the death of the present chaplains all annual rents of chaplainries founded in the parish church at the disposal of the town, with all other properties and duties should be applied to its building and repair, and a rental and inventory compiled. The collection of alms for the support of the poor "maid thir diveris zeiris laitlie bygane" was to be similarly applied, and delivered every Sunday to the master of kirk work.(23)

Aberdeen's response to the Reformation was reluctant. Menzies' humiliation after his association with Arran's pro-English and Protestant policy in the 1540s was a salutary lesson well learned.

A body of influential Protestant sympathisers existed in the burgh and was represented on the council, yet the burgh's slow reform was essentially dilatory and then compelled by external forces. Only the intrusion of the Mearns lords enabled this party to gain a temporary superiority. The Protestant experiment of the 1540s had been brief and abortive. As the political conditions of the 1550s and 1560s were equally unstable, there was no certainty that the policies of the Congregation and its adherents might not yet again be reversed.(24) The small Protestant faction proved unable to overpower a conservative majority of the merchant oligarchy. Religious convictions aside, both as a corporation and as individuals the council had invested heavily in the burgh kirk. Bound by ties of kinship, class and interest this would not permit religious division to jeopardise the prevailing social and political order.

It has been suggested that sir John Wright's appointment to maintain the beacon of St Ninian's on the Castlehill, of which he had been chaplain since 1541, may have been to facilitate discretely his continued function as a priest.(25) King's College remained a bastion of Catholicism until the purge of 1569, and even this was not wholly successful. In the midst of this entrenched traditionalism the establishment of the Protestant church was spasmodic. The introduction of the disciplinary framework was only achieved after the fall of Huntly. Even in this the council oligarchy retained influence and the choice of the members of the Session.(26)

Nevertheless the new dispensation had some immediate effects. Its influence was shown on 6 December 1560, when it was ordained by the council that there would be no common market or fair held that year on St Nicholas' day. The common bellman, John Kelo, was accused on 4 May 1562 of passing through the town with the hand bell to summon the inhabitants "to pass to the wood to bring in symmer upoun the first Sondag of Maii" in contraversion of the acts and statutes of the Queen and Privy Council, allegedly to stir up discord between the crafts and the gild.(27)

The council continued to defend its chaplains and choristers in their infestments. Attendance at kirk services was stipulated in return

for continued payment of rents, but no confession of faith was demanded.(28) A number of the choir and college of St Nicholas' conformed and served the Protestant church. The John Leslie who appears as reader of the parish of St Nicholas between 1563 and 1566 is likely to have been Patrick Leslie's son, who had served as a chorister and clerk from 1538.(29) Mr Edward Menzies retained his numerous altarages in St Nicholas' and appears as reader of Nigg in 1574.(30) Sir Robert Allardice, vicar of Auchterless, appears as reader of that parish in the 1560s.(31) Sir Alexander Robertson, who held the vicarage of Maryculter in 1550, conformed, and from 1562 occurs as minister of the same.(32) Sir William Walker was admitted as deputy keeper of the kirk in 1565, and served as such until his death in 1583/4.(33)

Conformity was not readily accepted by all. In 1561 the council ordered that Black be paid his pension, provided that he continue to teach and to bring his pupils to the services in the burgh kirk. To this latter condition Black objected. In 1562 and again in 1565 he appealed to the council for a compromise by which he would continue his tuition but not have to bring the pupils to the services. Nevertheless in time his resistance gave way, and by 1571 he had married, and in association with his brother appears engaged in trade. In 1561 he had requested licence to travel to the Continent to study, but the burgh although agreeing to this was not prepared to continue payment of his pension.(34) That he at last did so is suggested by a minute of 1570 which stated that he was "absent of the realm", and according to which the rule of the sang school was given to Andrew Kemp. The French influence detected in Black's Lessons on the Psalms was perhaps a consequence of this sojourn abroad. He subsequently returned to Aberdeen and was readmitted as master of the sang school, dying in office in 1587.(35)

A small body of malcontents was composed of Aberdeen graduates. Black's protege of 1556, Mr Andrew Gray, left Scotland for the Low Countries, as did the former grammar school master, Mr James Chalmer, who travelled to study at Louvain and ended his days in exile at Augsburg.(36) Chalmer's successor as master, Mr John Henderson, still held the post in January 1569/70. However, his sympathies



neighbours to do likewise. On 3 September the burgh council undertook to build a hospital for the poor, presumably the projected foundation within the former friary. The accounts of the master of kirk work for that year show that the burgh fathers executed the Privy Council's commands. A payment was made to John Craik "for the sawing away of the forpart of the stallis in the queir". The former master of the sang school, sir John Black, was paid for "taking out the pypis of the organis" and dismantling its case.(45)

The long series of major structural alterations to the fabric of St Nicholas' commenced in 1596 with the removal of "the haill carvit tymmerwark betuixt the pilleris of the queir . . to the effect that ane stane wall may be biggit betuixt the said queir and the bodie of the kirk that the said queir may be made ane preiching kirk for preching of the word of god and ministratioun of the socramentis". This would have been the screen and wainscot of Fendour's stalls. Throughout Scotland the great cathedral, conventual and burgh kirks were rendered obsolete by the emphasis placed upon the preacher and congregation. The greater churches, built in a tradition of choral music and private chapels, were simply too large for the new uses, and those parts thus redundant were left to fall into decay, as at Dunkeld, Dunblane and Brechin, where nave or choir were abandoned. At Aberdeen and Edinburgh the sizeable population preserved the external shell, but divided the interior by partition walls into separate churches to accommodate multiple congregations.(46)

The mediaeval church of St Nicholas thus housed two congregations until 1732, when the nave was abandoned as unsafe. The arcades began to collapse in 1742, yet were sufficiently intact four years later to provide shelter for Cumberland's stable and fodder magazine. In 1751 work commenced on the present West Kirk, a structure designed by Gibb and some seventeen feet shorter than its predecessor. This opened for worship in 1755. The choir survived until 1837-8, when for reasons of fashion and age, it was demolished to make way for Simpson's granite East Church. Fortunately the vault of Our Lady of Piety was spared in the reconstruction, although both it and the south transept were refaced in granite ashlar. The tower and oaken spire survived until 1874 when a disastrous fire swept through the

From the daily rounds of the canonical hours and votive masses, to festival processions, to the rents, stents and contributions upon which these were founded, religion was a pervasive and conspicuous element of later mediaeval burgh life. The principal church of the royal burgh of Aberdeen, St Nicholas' was a major social focus, encapsulating the diverse factors of the town's politics. The church was an interface between lay authority and ecclesiastical, both parochial and diocesan. As common ground of the merchant and craft gilds, it was on occasion an arena of the conflict between their respective authorities and claims.

The principal role of the burgh kirk in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was that of an intercessionary institution. The accessibility of Purgatory and its associated practices of alleviation afforded the middling ranks of lay society an opportunity of active participation in religious life, and one which permitted the founder and his heirs the preservation of rights of disposal and supervision of their investment. The multiplication of chantries and their attendant chaplains increased the personal stake in the parish kirk of both the individual endowing family and the burgh council, from the component families of which the staff of church and college were drawn.

The endowment of at least one chantry by each prominent family of Aberdeen indicates its role as a prestigious social statement. This also suggests a possible contributory factor in the decline of new foundations in the course of the sixteenth century. Once a family had endowed a chaplainry, the perpetual nature of the institution fulfilled the demands of subsequent generations, although different branches might endow further services for their own bloodline. The terms of the initial grant catered for the founder's progeny, but the mechanical efficacy of the intercessionary mass was commonly seen to be diluted by the number of individuals benefiting, thus encouraging multiplication of chaplainries and anniversaries. Although chantries and colleges continued to be founded until 1559, it is a moot point whether the apparent decline is an indication of this form of social and religious expression finding a natural level after an

The council was prepared to support John Smalee in his absence at St Andrews on the understanding that he return to its service.(4) It discharged Mr James Chalmer on his accepting the post of regent at King's College.(5) An adverse consequence of the proximity of the university was an increase in absenteeism in the course of the sixteenth century. This is notable not only at those chantries annexed as bursaries of the university, or otherwise in the Bishop's gift, but also at a number of private services then filled by individuals only loosely associated with the college and choir of St Nicholas', and in a number of cases, evidently of external origin. Evidence relating to the effects of this is open to varying interpretations. Thus the 1549 visitation of King's College which relates cases of neglect of chaplainry-bursaries indicates that this was not tolerated by the university authorities, and that personal service was expected at these annexed altars in conformity with the spirit of the student's foundation.(6)

Council, crafts, and individuals all availed themselves of the social and political opportunities of pious donation. As the town and its burgesses invested more of their wealth in the church by individual or communal undertakings so did their voice in its management strengthen. The structural history of St Nicholas' from the mid-fourteenth century is one of lay benefactions. As the parish kirk was increasingly identified with the burgh community so were the individual burgess donors succeeded by the council. The immunity of the church from all but ecclesiastical authority was undermined by the shifting emphasis from pastoral to intercessory function. The delineation of the respective jurisdictions was further blurred by the burgh council's gradual assumption of formerly episcopal responsibilities. Between 1400 and 1560 the council established itself as the principal authority within the parish kirk, and as the single major source of ecclesiastical patronage in the burgh and its territories. By the beginning of the sixteenth century as well as some ten services in the kirk, the council held the gift of the sang and grammar schools, to which it was to add the presentation or guardianship of the secular chapels within the town and its locality, as well as earmarking further funds of the Common Good for the support of both choristers and fabric.

procrastination delayed a commitment to the new religious orthodoxy, such as it then was. When circumstances dictated adoption of conformist practices it was the letter and not the spirit of the law that was obeyed.(15) The chaplains and choristers of St Nicholas' display both reaction against Protestant reform, and an apparent readiness to cooperate. A few members appear in an active role at a relatively early date, while others were manifestly reluctant to conform for a period of years, though in time were reconciled with the new order.(16) The degree of commitment to the new church of those who served it is impossible to judge. The most conspicuous group of recalcitrants associated with St Nicholas' was that probably most influenced by the reformist Catholic teachings which had established themselves in the academic community of Old Aberdeen, ironically itself a major cause of the rise of absenteeism in St Nicholas'.

Continental and domestic trade and education brought religious and philosophical developments from the outside world. A burgh of conservative attitudes governed by a restricted circle of families, Aberdeen was nevertheless open to external influences. A range of factors combined to present what White has described as a picture of localism with a definite cosmopolitan twist.(17) The staff of St Nicholas' were native men, burgess born, many had direct contact with the leading contemporary trends in education and ideology of the Continent, while many more benefited indirectly from this learning in the schools and university.

It has been stated that the merchant oligarchy which dominated the burgh's council chamber concentrated control of most of the town's economic and political resources in its hands.(18) The Reformation was not popularly welcomed in Aberdeen, and was only grudgingly accepted in consequence of external pressures. The oligarchy nevertheless exercised control over its advance, reform paradoxically enabling it to extend its influence over the ecclesiastical life of the burgh. However, it is clear that the parish kirk, and to a great extent the lesser secular chapels were already under the guardianship of the council. The emergence of a college within the kirk in the fifteenth century had served only to facilitate and

APPENDIX 1:

CHAPLAINS AND CHORISTERS SERVING IN ST NICHOLAS  
AND IN THE CHAPELS OF ABERDEEN - 1400-1560

Sir Robert Allardice:

Appears as chaplain of the service founded by the laird of Fyvie at the altar of St Ninian on 5 Mar 1544/5.[CR, xviii, 399] He held the vicarage pensionary of Auchterless 14 Feb 1548.[Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 414] Occurs as dean of Garioch on 18 Jan 1550 and 11 May 1552.[Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 417; SR, viii, 213] He conformed and occurs as reader of Auchterless in 1563 and 1567.[Thirds of Benefices, 222; Reg. Min., 66]

Sir Alexander Anderson (I):

Between 8 Sept 1519 and 20 Feb 1549/50 sir Alexander Anderson appears as a chaplain of the college and choir of St Nicholas.[St Nich. Cart., i, 154, 250]

Alexander Anderson (II):

On 1 June 1534 Mr John Hay protested that any action against Sandy Anderson, son of David Anderson in the Gallowgate, should not prejudice him or his clerkship "be causs he allegit him a clerk".[CR, xiv, 386]

Sir Andrew Anderson (I):

A sir Andrew Thomson appears on 13 Dec 1448 when the burgh extended his service in the kirk to the following Whitsun, after which it was to be free to fee whomsoever it wished.[CR, v, 734] He is probably to be identified with the sir Andrew Anderson, son of Thomas Anderson, late burgess of Aberdeen.[CR, vi, 217] On 3 Feb 1452 it was ordained that he should have a fee of £5 from the following Whitsun for his daily service in the hours of the church and his teaching of the sang school.[CR, v, 771] On 8 Jan 1472/3 as chaplain of the Holy Rood, the burgh granted him a fee of 10 merks annually for life in addition to the income of the altar.[CR, vi, 217] He still held the Rood on 2 May 1475.[CR, vi, 361] By 12 Sept 1477 his fee had increased to 10 merks.[CR, vi, 495] On the following 18 Aug 1478 his fee and that of sir Henry Hervy were both annexed to the building of the choir.[CR, vi, 541] For "suis laboribus in organorum laudibus factus" he was granted a burgess entry in Jan 1478/79, and again in 1484.[CR, vi, 572, 649, 838] On 5 May 1483 the alderman and council ordained that Richard Boyle

reassigned to Anderson together with another 10 merks for life for his daily residence and good service in the choir at all hours on festival and ferial days.[CR, xi, 704; xii, 16] On 10 Jan 1532/33 he appointed arbiters in a dispute with the burgh anent 10 merks of his fee. The same day the burgh discharged all their sangsters of the choir other than sir Andrew Couper.[CR, xiv, 75] Whatever the dissatisfaction of the burgh with its choir, Anderson reappears in the service of the burgh. In June 1534 and June 1536 his fee of £10 remained unpaid.[CR, xiv, 407; xv, 90, 166] He last appears on 20 Jan 1537/38.[CR, xv, 519]

#### Mr Robert Anderson:

Two individuals of this name occur at St Andrews, one a determinant of 1518-19 and licentiate of 23 May 1520, the other a pauper determinant of 1522 and licentiate of 1524.[St A. Acta, 328, 334, 340, 346] One of these was a regent in St Andrews 1537-1556/7.[*ibid.*, *passim*] The other was presented to the chaplainry of Rattray on 21 Nov 1526, vacant by the resignation of Mr Duncan Chalmer.[RSS, i, 3554] On 17 July 1534 he was presented by Mr John Burnet to a chaplainry at the altar of St Ninian.[SR, iv, 178] He occurs as a notary 17 June 1542.[SR, iv, 273] On 12 Dec 1544 he appears as chaplain of the service founded by Thomas Chalmer at the altar of St Katherine, evidently in succession to Mr Thomas Chalmer.[CR, xviii, 325] He still held this on 29 July 1547.[CR, xix, 376] He was still alive on 21 Mar 1554/5.[SR, viii, 259]

#### Sir Thomas Anderson:

Between 1452 and 13 Sept 1466 he appears as chaplain of St Ninian's altar.[CR, v, 834] On 5 Oct 1461 he appears in association with Alexander de Camera as chaplain of St Katherine.[CR, v, 431] He last appears 10 Feb 1472/73.[Aberdeen University MS M 390/11/56]

#### Sir William Anderson:

First appears 4 May 1503 as a chaplain.[SR, ii, 41] He was given possession of the Trinitarian's chaplainry at the high altar of St Nicholas on 25 Feb 1504/5, still held this on 19 Apr 1512, and presumably until his death.[SR, ii, 211; CR, ix, 96] In Mar 1504/5 John Anderson, burgess, promised in his name to refund rents due to

the executors of Mr Alexander Fife, his predecessor at the altar.[SR, ii, 213] He last appears on 9 Aug 1526.[SR, iv, 133] He owned a land in the Netherkirkgate, and to this his sister Helen Anderson was found heir on 13 June 1530, he being dead about two months.[CR, xii, 830]

Mr Thomas Annan:

Probably to be identified with the Thomas Annan incorporated at St Andrews in 1509, a determinant of Nov 1510 and licentiate of 1512.[St A. Recs., 203/4, 98, 100; St A. Acta, 299, 320] He appears in Aberdeen on 2 Oct 1521, as a notary on 20 Oct 1522, and as chaplain of the altar of St Andrew in the cathedral on 5 Oct 1523 and 3 Oct 1524.[CR, x, 352; xi, 190, 354, 480] On 9 Nov 1526 at Fyvie Castle he styled himself "professor artium", and priest of Aberdeen diocese.[A. B. Ill., 334] On 4 June 1528 he was elected one of the burgh's proctors to appear before the king's council.[CR, xii, 353] In Mar 1528/29 he appealed for a pension of the town, and in Apr 1529, after some debate, the burgh acknowledged that he should be granted a pension until they could provide him to a benefice of £10.[CR, xii, 518, 544, 548] His contract was renewed Jan 1530/31.[CR, xiii, 65] He is described as a priest on 18 Feb 1532/33.[SR, iv, 165] On 21 July 1536 he submitted to the council in all things in which it was alleged that he had failed, and discharged his letters of the lords of council.[CR, xv, 185] As chaplain of St John Evangelist in the parish church of St Nicholas he appears between 1545/6 and 13 Dec 1555.[CR, xix, 42; Abdn. Counc., i, 293]

Mr John Badenoch:

In 1512 his father is named as Patrick Badenoch, a burgess of Aberdeen.[St Nich. Cart., i, 242] Forsicht Mowat was described as his gudmother on 5 Feb 1486/7.[CR, vii, 2] He first appears as a bachelor of Paris of 1461, and is said to have been of the diocese of Aberdeen.[Paris Uni. Auctarium, ii, 933, 29; vi, 346,3] On 28 April 1483 he appears in Aberdeen as factor in that part to Sir William Knollis, the preceptor of Torphichen.[CR, vi, 790] From 18 Feb 1487/8 until his death he appears as vicar of Gamrie.[SR, i, 113] He was active as a notary from at least 10 Sept 1492.[St Nich. Cart.,



ii, 257] He is likely to have served the Knollis chaplainry of St John Baptist, at which altar on 20 July 1512 he endowed his brethren, the curate and chaplains of the choir, to celebrate a weekly mass of the Virgin, and after his death an anniversary for himself and his parents.[RMS, ii, 2108; St Nich. Cart., i, 242, 245] He had died by 4 July 1513 when named as uncle of one of his heirs, Cristine Blindsel.[CR, ix, 241]

Sir Ingeram Bannerman:

First appears 22 June 1467 as chaplain of St Clement's chapel in Futy, a service he retained until his death.[Spalding Misc., v, 23] In 1488 he appears with other chaplains of St Nicholas, and was listed as a member of the college of 1491.[St Nich. Cart., i, 71, 258] He may still have been alive on 15 Mar 1500/1, and is described as late on 30 Sept 1504, although it was a year later, on 9 Sept 1505 that the burgh presented his successor, Sir Thomas Lamington.[CR, vii, 1074; viii, 377, 489]

Sir James Barclay:

First appears 15 Sept 1519 in Aberdeen as a chaplain and on 28 May 1520 at Logie-Durno as a notary.[SR, iv, 42, 62] On 10 Mar 1520/21 he was elected parish clerk of Banchory, an office annexed to the chaplainry of the Blessed Virgin in the same church.[SR, iv, 79] On 30 Jan 1531/32 he appears as chaplain of the altar of St Katherine founded by the late Andrew Stratoun in St Nicholas', in the patronage of the lairds of Lauriston.[SR, iv, 156] This suggests his kinship with one of the Barclay families of the Mearns. In 1545 he appears as chaplain of St Clement's, and, on 30 Jan 1547/8, as chaplain of the Menzies altar of St Sebastian.[CR, xvii, 520; xix, 465] He was still alive on 19 Aug 1575 when, as a chaplain of the choir, he consented to the resignation of the college's revenues, with reservation for life.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 379] James Barclay, sometime chaplain of the parish church of Aberdeen, died 1 October 1578.[Spalding Misc., ii, 50]

### Sir David Barns:

First appears 4 Aug 1516 as a chaplain and declared legitimate and nearest heir of his father, the late Richard Barns, burgess of Aberdeen.[CR, ix, 605] On 7 Oct 1522 and 12 Jan 1522/23 sir Andrew Scherar appears as his proctor for rents due to his chaplainry of St Christopher.[CR, xi, 178, 226] On 13 Apr 1523 sir Robert Rust, vicar of Kinkell, filled this post.[CR, xi, 273-4] However, on 5 Oct 1523 Scherar again appears as a proctor, on this occasion for Mr David Douglas, chaplain of St Christopher.[CR, xi, 355] Barns and Douglas were perhaps chaplains of the Matheson service of St Christopher. On 22 Dec 1541 he appears in King's College as a priest and notary public, and on 30 Sept 1546 among the prebendaries and chaplains of the choir of King's.[Abdn. Fasti, 114, 121, 122]

### Sir David Baxter:

On 16 Feb 1520 sir David Baxter appears as a member of the college of St Nicholas.[St Nich. Cart., i, 135]

### Gilbert Binny:

On 17 Dec 1509 the town granted 14s for a gown to Gilbert Bynne, one of their choristers.[CR, viii, 1046] 50s was assigned to him on 25 June 1515 for his service in the choir until he could be provided a better fee.[CR, ix, 462] On 4 Dec 1515 when the burgh assigned him the half clerkship of the Guestrow, surrendered by Andrew Strachan.[CR, ix, 525] He was assigned 20s for another gown on 15 Dec 1516.[CR, ix, 646] He was perhaps deceased by 9 Apr 1529 when sir Robert Spark was assigned 40s which "umquhill Gilbert Bynne" had of them before.[CR, xii, 545]

### Sir Robert Binny:

Robe Bynne was granted 40s as a singer on 3 Feb 1538/9.[CR, xvi, 138] He assigned his fee to John Ellis on 21 Nov 1539 for his chamber mail.[CR, xvi, 396] On 8 Nov 1540 his fee was said to be additional to his diet.[CR, xvi, 642] He appears on 22 Apr 1553 as sir Robert Bynny, chaplain and collector of the choir.[St Nich.Cart., i, 271] On 4 Oct 1555 the council took note that sir Robert "cheplane and singor in thair queir is vesiit be the hand of God with infirmitee in his ene quhair throw he is becum blynd and that he maid continuell

194] He may still have been in Aberdeen on 12 Jan 1505/6 when a process for a rent due to his service was noted.[CR, viii, 503] Possibly he is to be identified with the "Alexander Bysset de Abordonia" who appears at the university of Louvain on 31 Jan 1505/6.[Louvain, iii, 310,261] If so, he had returned by 23 July 1506 when he appeared with his forespeaker, John Cullen.[CR, viii, 596] In Mar 1506/7 his forespeaker was Mr John Marschell, who succeeded him at the Holy Blood.[CR, viii, 671] He last appears on 6 June 1513, and was deceased by 26 Mar 1521.[CR, ix, 229; St Nich.Cart., i, 193]

Mr John Bisset:

As rector of the grammar school Bisset appears on 8 Sept 1519.[St Nich. Cart., i, 153] This may be misdated as Mr John Marschell held the mastership until his death shortly before Jan 1526/27, and there is no further reference to Bisset as master until 1529, although an unnamed master reported on the perilous state of the school in Oct 1527.[Abdn. Counc., i, 120] He is likely to have been a graduate of the university of Aberdeen, of which he appears as a regent from 1516.[Durkan, Scottish Universities, 563] In July 1519 and on 10 Mar 1522/23 he appears as a regent.[Abdn. Grads., 50] On 7 May 1529 the burgh of Aberdeen granted to Mr John Bisset, as master of the grammar school, a fee of £10 "to help to pay his burd aye and quhill thay provid him ane benefice", for the rule of their school.[CR, xii, 571] His band was confirmed and sealed on 10 Jan 1529.[CR, xii, 742] He last appears as master of the school on 18 Jan 1530/31. He occurs as proctor of the university in 1540-41.[Exch. Rolls, xvii, 405] On 11 May 1542 he occurs as Principal, in succession to William Hay. He resigned this, but ineffectively, before 26 Feb 1547, and again appears as principal on 6 Aug 1549. His resignation was accepted at the Curia on 7 Feb 1552, and Alexander Anderson received provision on 17 Feb 1552. Nevertheless Bisset still appears as principal in 1553 and 1558. He held the office at least as late as 10 Aug 1564 when Anderson occurs as vice-principal. He was deceased before 29 May 1565 when his testament, in which he retained the title, was registered.[White, Thesis, 104; Watt, Fasti, 375]

i, 313] On 30 Oct 1559 he and sir John Colison appealed to the council on behalf of the chaplains to permit their entry to the kirk for the celebration of divine service and observance of their foundations.[CR, xxiii, 244] On 6 Oct 1570, in Black's absence outwith the realm, the council admitted Andrew Kempt to teach their youth and children in music, manners and virtue.[Abdn. Counc., i, 370] He had returned to Aberdeen by 8 July 1574 and appears again as one of the chaplains of St Nicholas'.[St Nich. Cart, ii, 241] The same year he received 30s for his work in the dismantling of the organs.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 385] He was one of the six surviving members of the college on 19 Aug 1575.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 379] On 9 Aug 1577 he again appears as master of the sang school. He died in office, probably shortly before 14 Aug 1587 when the mastership was granted to John Anderson.[Abdn. Counc., ii, 29, 60] A number of compositions have been attributed to him.[New Grove, ii, 769]

#### John Black (III):

Another John Black, apparently distinct from the preceding, was the son of Jonet Fudes and the late Robert Black, burgess of Aberdeen. On 12 July 1547 the council granted a pension of £8 to his mother who had sustained him for the five years since his father's death. He was to have £10 yearly, and to have "metis, drinks, claiss and all wther necessaris and lerninge at ye skuill as effers, induring ye time of his tutory".[CR, xix, 231, 370]

#### Gilbert Blair:

On 8 Mar 1539/40 Blair was hired as a chorister.[CR, xvi, 483]

#### Sir Walter Blair:

First appears on 16 Sept 1500 when Mariot Blinsell, spouse of Alexander Blair, resigned a land to sir John Litster, proctor of Alexander's son Walter Blair, and on behalf of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In the event of Walter's death the land was to pass to his brother german, John, and his successors celebrating at the altar.[SR, i, 928] In Dec 1515 he was found heir to his father and to a land in the Shiprow.[CR, ix, 524] In Mar 1516 Blair's father was stated to have been a burgess of Banff, and he protested that this should not prejudice his inheritance.[CR, ix, 683]

---- Black:

By the agreement of 13 July 1546, John Black (II), depute master of the sang school, was to have power of correction over several bairns, including his own two brothers.[Abdn. Counc., i, 239]

Sir John Black (I):

First appears as a chaplain, 15 Nov 1488.[St Nich. Cart., i, 72] On 9 June 1495, described as a priest of Aberdeen diocese, he was presented by Alexander Irvine of Drum for collation to the chaplainry of St Ninian, vacant by the death of Sir John Chalmer.[St Nich. Cart., i, 45] He appears to have had some connection with the grammar school, but the exact nature of this is unclear. In 1492-93/94 he acted as proctor to Mr William Strachan, the chaplain of St John Baptist and who later served as grammar school master.[CR, vii, 349, 489] In 1500 a burgess entry was granted to him for his expenses in the construction of the school.[CR, viii, 305] He was still alive 10 Feb 1506/7.[CR, viii, 662]

Sir John Black (II):

On 14 May 1546 the burgh assigned 5 merks in augmentation of his fee to John Black, singer.[CR, xix, 106] On 12 July 1546 an agreement was reached between John, who was serving as a deputy master of the sang school, and the principal master, sir John Fethy. Fethy granted himself content to have Black serve under him to teach singing to all the children of the school, and to receive the whole profit of the school to his own use. Black was also to have the power to discipline his own two brothers and four other bairns of the school, reserving the remaining children to the discipline of Fethy. Black agreed that if he ever again failed Fethy in regard to the school, that he be discharged of the profits he had of the town for his service in the kirk and choir.[CR, xix, 161] On 18 Apr 1547 he appears as one of the parish clerks of the burgh.[CR, xix, 322] On 16 Nov 1547 he appears as sir John Black, and on 1 Feb 1548/49 as a chaplain.[CR, xix, 424; SR, viii, 124] On 16 Nov 1556 as a member of the choir and master of the sang school, he acted as the college's spokesman.[CR, xxii, 441] On 7 Oct 1558 he was assigned a yearly pension of 22 merks for his teaching of the children, his service in the kirk and as "maister of the myd lettoun thairof".[Abdn. Counc.,

i, 313] On 30 Oct 1559 he and sir John Colison appealed to the council on behalf of the chaplains to permit their entry to the kirk for the celebration of divine service and observance of their foundations.[CR, xxiii, 244] On 6 Oct 1570, in Black's absence outwith the realm, the council admitted Andrew Kempt to teach their youth and children in music, manners and virtue.[Abdn. Counc., i, 370] He had returned to Aberdeen by 8 July 1574 and appears again as one of the chaplains of St Nicholas'.[St Nich. Cart, ii, 241] The same year he received 30s for his work in the dismantling of the organs.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 385] He was one of the six surviving members of the college on 19 Aug 1575.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 379] On 9 Aug 1577 he again appears as master of the sang school. He died in office, probably shortly before 14 Aug 1587 when the mastership was granted to John Anderson.[Abdn. Counc., ii, 29, 60] A number of compositions have been attributed to him.[New Grove, ii, 769]

#### John Black (III):

Another John Black, apparently distinct from the preceding, was the son of Jonet Fudes and the late Robert Black, burgess of Aberdeen. On 12 July 1547 the council granted a pension of £8 to his mother who had sustained him for the five years since his father's death. He was to have £10 yearly, and to have "metis, drinks, claiss and all wther necessaris and lerninge at ye skuill as effers, induring ye time of his tutory".[CR, xix, 231, 370]

#### Gilbert Blair:

On 8 Mar 1539/40 Blair was hired as a chorister.[CR, xvi, 483]

#### Sir Walter Blair:

First appears on 16 Sept 1500 when Mariot Blinsell, spouse of Alexander Blair, resigned a land to sir John Litster, proctor of Alexander's son Walter Blair, and on behalf of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In the event of Walter's death the land was to pass to his brother german, John, and his successors celebrating at the altar.[SR, i, 928] In Dec 1515 he was found heir to his father and to a land in the Shiprow.[CR, ix, 524] In Mar 1516 Blair's father was stated to have been a burgess of Banff, and he protested that this should not prejudice his inheritance.[CR, ix, 683]

Elizabeth Barcula was named as his mother and Marjory Blinsell his stepmother.[St Nich. Cart., i, 135; SR, iii, 430] On 5 May 1522 he appeared as chaplain of the Holy Cross, probably the Brown Cross, and founded an obit for his parents and stepmother.[St Nich. Cart., i, 135] He was still active as a chaplain on 27 Mar 1542.[St Nich. Cart., i, 246]

Mr Arthur Boece:

Full brother of Mr Hector Boece.[Boece, Vitae, 91] He held the altar of St Mary Magdalen, annexed to the university as a burse in Civil Law, until 1 Oct 1506 when he resigned it to David Menzies.[Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 321; OCC 26/4; OCC 2/8-11; Boece, Vitae, 91] On 7 May 1506 He appears as staller of Kinkell in the cathedral and as a chaplain in the Mydlettoun.[Abdn. Reg., ii, 97, 99] He was a generous donor to the chapel of King's College. On 31 Jan 1516 he appears as commissary general of Aberdeen.[CR, xi, 543] Described as of the diocese of Brechin, in 1517 he was in Rome, giving an account of the abbey of Arbroath. In 1521 he appears as clerk of the cathedral chapter.[Aberdeen Epistolare, xviii-xix] He had gained his doctorate in Canon Law by 1526 and served as canonist from as early as 25 Feb 1521/22 when he occurs as rector of the Snow Kirk.[CR, xi, 44; Abdn. Reg., ii, 255] He still held this post on 13 June 1531.[Abdn. Fasti, 107] According to his brother, he was "a man of much learning and one who is likely to more and more diligently prosecute his studies, for his enthusiasm continues fresh and unwearied. He possesses a weighty eloquence far removed from popular declamation".[Boece, Vitae, 91] Between 31 Jan 1516/17 and 19 June 1533 he appears as commissary of Aberdeen, and after 1532 a lord of Session.[CR, xi, 543; Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 104; Aberdeen Epistolare, xviii-xix; Abdn. Fasti, xviii] On 10 Jan 1535/36 he appears as treasurer of Brechin.[CR, xv, 73]

Mr Hector Boece:

A student of arts at Paris between 1492 and 1494, he was reading philosophy at Montaigu College when, in 1497, he was invited to come to Aberdeen by Bishop Elphinstone.[Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 323-4, 367-8, 374] On 17 Nov 1505 the burgh granted him its service at the altar of St Ninian for life.[CR, viii, 520] In 1506 he already

### Sir John Buchan:

First appears 17 Dec 1509 as John Buchane, to whom the council granted 14s towards a gown for his service in the choir.[CR, viii, 1046] On 2 May 1511 the quarter clerkship of the Guestrow was equally divided between Buchan and John Murray.[CR, viii, 1181] He still held the clerkship on 22 Jan 1514 when he first appears as a chaplain.[CR, ix, 396] On 28 Oct 1522 he occurs as a chaplain and collector of the cathedral kirk.[CR, xi, 367] He was still alive on 31 Oct 1523.[CR, xi, 367]

### Mr John Burnet:

A sir John Burnet appears as chaplain of Aberdeen 30 Sept 1505.[SR, ii, 275] Mr John Burnet is said to have been a student at either St Andrews or Paris c.1529, and possessed a copy of William Manderston's "Bipartium in Morali Philosophia", published in Paris in 1518. This contains three inscriptions, including "Liber M. Joannis burnet studentis".[Durkan and Ross, Libraries, 80] On 13 Jan 1532/33 Mr John Burnet appears as the laird of Drum's chaplain of St Ninian.[CR, xiv, 77] He still held this on 17 July 1534, by which date he had himself endowed a chaplainry at the altar, to which he presented Mr Robert Anderson.[SR, iv, 178] On 20 Nov 1533 he occurs in the bishop's palace as a notary, and on 23 Feb 1533/34 is described as a priest.[Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 106; CR, xiv, 349] He obtained the Westhall chaplainry at the altar of St Ninian in the cathedral at Rome and without licence, but received remission in 1538/9.[ADCP, 48] A notary of this name appears in Edinburgh in association with Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin on several occasions between May 1541 when business involved Drumblade, and Feb 1541/2, on this last date with Erskine of Dun. In July and August of 1541 he appears in Brechin with Sir Thomas.[RMS, iii, 2349, 2352, 2351, 2353, 2375, 2522, 2430, 2432, 2439, 2598, 2579]

### Sir Thomas Caldour:

First appears 30 Sept 1490 as vicar of Kildrummy, by whom Mr William Colison was invested in the service of St Stephen in the parish church of St Nicholas.[SR, i, 208] His letters of presentation to the prebend of Crimond, issued under the Privy Seal were proclaimed



held a bachelors degree in Theology, and by 22 Sept 1509 in Medicine.[Watt, Fasti, 375; SR, iii, 176] He was the first Principal of King's College, probably as early as 1505, although first described as such 8 Feb 1515/16.[Watt, Fasti, 375] In Feb 1527/28 he appears as vicar of Tullynestle, a benefice annexed as a burse to King's.[Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 71] On 5 Sept 1528 the council of Aberdeen granted a tun of wine or £20 to help buy bonnets "to propine him to his master ack in theology".[Abdn. Counc., i, 121] He was still alive on 18 Jan 1535/36, but had died by 22 Nov 1536.[RMS, iii, 3004; RSS, ii, 2192]

Richard Boyle:

First appears on 15 Sept 1477 when he was assigned the Castlegate clerkship for his service in kirk and choir.[CR, vi, 496] On 8 Nov 1480 as parish clerk of the Castlegate, he received an additional 12s from William Young, clerk of the Gallowgate.[CR, vi, 662] His income was bolstered by burgess entries in Sept 1481 and Oct 1482.[CR, vi, 713, 756] On 5 May 1483 the burgh granted Boyle the mastership of the sang school with the assistance of his old master, sir Andrew Thomson.[CR, vi, 790] He is stated on 12 July 1483 to have left the service of the parish church without the leave of the alderman and council, for which reason the burgh granted his clerkship of the Gallowgate to Andrew Ettale.[CR, vi, 796] He had returned by 3 Oct 1485 and was promised a new gown.[CR, vi, 934, 941] On 5 May 1487 Robert Huchonson was granted the mastership of the sang school with Richard Boyle as his deputy.[CR, vii, 14] On 31 May 1488 the burgh granted "their old servitor" the clerkships of both Gallowgate and Guestrow.[CR, vi, 60] He last appears on 13 Dec 1488.[CR, vii, 95]

William Brown:

On 30 Oct 1506 Wille Broune, was hired to sing in the choir for four years, receiving his diet and 13s 4d for clothes the first year, his fee being augmented "as he grouis in age and makes good service".[CR, viii, 625]

### Sir John Buchan:

First appears 17 Dec 1509 as John Buchane, to whom the council granted 14s towards a gown for his service in the choir.[CR, viii, 1046] On 2 May 1511 the quarter clerkship of the Guestrow was equally divided between Buchan and John Murray.[CR, viii, 1181] He still held the clerkship on 22 Jan 1514 when he first appears as a chaplain.[CR, ix, 396] On 28 Oct 1522 he occurs as a chaplain and collector of the cathedral kirk.[CR, xi, 367] He was still alive on 31 Oct 1523.[CR, xi, 367]

### Mr John Burnet:

A sir John Burnet appears as chaplain of Aberdeen 30 Sept 1505.[SR, ii, 275] Mr John Burnet is said to have been a student at either St Andrews or Paris c.1529, and possessed a copy of William Manderston's "Bipartium in Morali Philosophia", published in Paris in 1518. This contains three inscriptions, including "Liber M. Joannis burnet studentis".[Durkan and Ross, Libraries, 80] On 13 Jan 1532/33 Mr John Burnet appears as the laird of Drum's chaplain of St Ninian.[CR, xiv, 77] He still held this on 17 July 1534, by which date he had himself endowed a chaplainry at the altar, to which he presented Mr Robert Anderson.[SR,iv, 178] On 20 Nov 1533 he occurs in the bishop's palace as a notary, and on 23 Feb 1533/34 is described as a priest.[Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 106; CR, xiv, 349] He obtained the Westhall chaplainry at the altar of St Ninian in the cathedral at Rome and without licence, but received remission in 1538/9.[ADCP, 48] A notary of this name appears in Edinburgh in association with Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin on several occasions between May 1541 when business involved Drumblade, and Feb 1541/2, on this last date with Erskine of Dun. In July and August of 1541 he appears in Brechin with Sir Thomas.[RMS, iii, 2349, 2352, 2351, 2353, 2375, 2522, 2430, 2432, 2439, 2598, 2579]

### Sir Thomas Caldour:

First appears 30 Sept 1490 as vicar of Kildrummy, by whom Mr William Colison was invested in the service of St Stephen in the parish church of St Nicholas.[SR, i, 208] His letters of presentation to the prebend of Crimond, issued under the Privy Seal were proclaimed

on 17 Sept 1491.[SR, i, 233] He occurs again in Aberdeen on 10 Aug 1492.[SR, i, 267] On 21 Aug and 18 Nov 1504 he appears as vice-curate of Aberdeen.[SR, ii, 172, 191]

Mr David Carnegie:

The second of seven sons of Robert Carnegie of Kynnard.[RMS, iii, 456, 1597] Appears as rector of Touch, in Huntly patronage on 12 May 1549.[Prot. Bk. Rollock, 162] He retained the fruits of both parsonage and vicarage in 1570-1 although he had evidently resigned the parsonage before 5 Feb 1558 when his brother Mr Robert appears as rector.[Thirde of Benefices, 225; RMS, v, 1056] On 11 July 1549 he occurs as rector of Aberdour.[RMS, iii, 359] Between 17 Feb 1549/50 and 1557/58 he held the parsonage of Kinnoul.[RMS, iii, 680] In 1557/58 the earl of Huntly presented him to the chaplainry of St Leonard in the parish church of Aberdeen.[Bulloch, House of Gordon, ii, 31] Evidently he resigned the parsonage of Kinnoul shortly afterwards, as his brother Mr Robert held the parsonage on 10 July 1559.[RMS, iii, 1355] He appears as Mr David Carnegie of Panbride in July 1559.[RMS, iii, 1597] He married Elizabeth Ramsay of Culluthie (died c. Feb 1566/7) by whom he had two daughters. Thenceforth he appears as Carnegie of Culluthie. In 1578 he was appointed a commissioner on the Laws, in Nov 1588 a Privy Councillor. He was reappointed to the Privy Council in 1592. On 24 Apr 1583 he served as one of the King's Commissioners to the General Assembly. Before 25 July 1592 he founded a bursary in St Leonard's College, St Andrews. From the death of his elder brother until his own demise, he had possession of Kinnaird and Carcary. In 1596 he was appointed an Extraordinary Commissioner of the Exchequer. By his second wife, Euphame, daughter of Sir John Wemyss of Wemyss he had four sons and four daughters. In old age he married a third wife, Jonet Henderson, widow of Alexander Guthrie, common clerk of Edinburgh. He died 19 Apr 1598.[Scots Peerage, viii, 59-62]

Sir Andrew Chalmer:

First appears 3 Apr 1478 as a chaplain.[CR, vi, 525] On 6 Oct 1480 the council promised that he should have the presentation for life of the hospital of St Thomas Martyr.[CR, vi, 653] On 24 Jan 1482 he appears as proctor of his brother german, Mr John Chalmer, the former

master of the hospital.[CR, vi, 778] From 29 Apr 1488 he appears as chaplain of the Matheson service at St Christopher's altar.[SR, i, 115] He still held this on 8 Feb 1506/7, and presumably held it until his death.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 265] On 15 Nov 1488 he appears as a chaplain of the parish church, and in 1491 is listed as one of the members of the college.[St Nich. Cart., i, 72,258] On 15 Sept 1503 he stood as surety of Thomas Chalmer's service in his clerkship of the choir.[CR, viii, 256] He last appears on 9 June 1508 in the chapel of St Thomas Martyr and in the company of William Chalmer of Balnacrag, Mr Thomas and Mr Duncan Chalmer.[SR, iii, 49] On 23 June 1508 the burgh granted the hospital, vacant by his decease, to sir David Waus.[CR, viii, 842] His executors, Gilbert Litstar, and Mr Thomas and Mr Gilbert Chalmer, were bound to disburse £5 on the purchase of a 10s rent for the endowment of an anniversary to be celebrated by the chaplains of the choir.[St Nich. Cart., i, 195]

#### Mr Duncan Chalmer:

The son of William Chalmer of Balnacrag, Duncan Chalmer appears among the determinants of the faculty of arts of St Andrews of the year 1490-91.[Spalding Misc., i, 69; St A. Acta, 236] Described as of the diocese of Aberdeen he next appears as a batchelor of the university of Paris of 1492-3, and a licentiate and incipient of 1493-4.[Paris Uni.Auctarium, vi, 723,20 n3; 737,3; 740,40] He had returned to Scotland by 5 July 1505 when he appears as parson of Forvie.[CR, viii, 469] He still held the parsonage on 25 Oct 1540.[Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 307] On 7 May 1523 John, lord Forbes, granted the chaplainry of St Anne, vacant by Mr Duncan's inability, to Mr Alexander Forbes.[SR, iv, 16] He promised annates of the chancellorship of Ross, received provision on 27 Jan 1525/26, and still held this on 24 Nov 1556. He resigned the chancellorship with reservation of the liferent to Paul II (between May 1555 and Aug 1559), although the date is given as Mar 1553. He renounced the rent on or before 13 Aug 1560, but still appears in possession on 11 Mar 1566 when he also appears as commissary of Ross, and again on 21 May 1567.[Watt, Fasti, 279, 288] On 20 Aug 1526 he was presented to the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Rattray.[RSS, i, 3478] He had resigned his right in this by 21 Nov 1526 and was succeeded by Mr Robert Anderson.[RSS, i, 3554] On 24 Nov 1556 letters of

Andrew Chalmer, to the service, but there is no indication whether Mr John had resigned the chapel, or was merely supplying a substitute.[CR, vi, 653] He still held the rectory of Hoy on 21 Jan 1471/2.[RMS, ii, 1384] As John de Camera, priest of Aberdeen diocese, he made payment on 19 Jan 1471/2 of the annates of the mastership of St Germain's in East Lothian, due to become void by the deprivation of Patrick Pyot.[Cameron, Apostolic Camera, 165] On 11 Dec 1475 described as a priest of the diocese of Aberdeen, MA, and of noble birth, his proctor, Daniel Martin, resigned all right to the hospital of St Germain's in lieu of a yearly pension of £9 of the tithes of Bernis and Inglismaldie. To this Pyot gave his assent.[CPL, xiii, 462; Cameron, Apostolic Camera, 181] A papal mandate of 30 Aug 1477 related that Pyot had been deprived of the hospital on account of certain crimes laid to his account by John Chalmer, by both parents of knightly birth, and to whom provision had been made. Pyot had appealed and resigned without the Curia, as had John, whereupon it was granted in commendam to Thomas Lyell on 5 Feb 1475/76. The pope now ordered the hospital with its annexed parish churches of Aberluthnot and Glenmuick to be granted to John, who proposed to restore the ruinous buildings.[CPL, xiii, 58] He was evidently in possession of St Germain's by 10 Oct 1477 when he appears in Rome.[Cameron, Apostolic Camera, 189] On 6 Mar 1477 he was in Edinburgh as succentor of Moray.[RMS, ii, 1373] His brother, sir Andrew, appeared as his proctor on 24 Jan 1482/83 when Mr Andrew Liel, treasurer of Aberdeen, confessed to owing him expenses in the plea of the subchanter'ship.[CR, vi, 778] In part payment of a 50 merk pension for his resignation of all claims on St Germain's and its annexes, which were to be appropriated to the university, Bishop Elphinstone granted Chalmer the rectory of Fetternear, and on 10 Feb 1504/5 collation to the Magdalen service in St Nicholas.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 312; SR, ii, 208] He was still alive on 28 Aug 1506.[CR, viii, 602]

#### Sir John Chalmer (I):

First appears 29 Nov 1456 as a chaplain of Glasgow diocese presented to the chaplainry of St Ninian, newly endowed by Alexander Irvine of Drum.[St Nich. Cart., i, 99] He appears as chaplain of St James in 1457, and still held this on 3 Aug 1486.[CR, v, 799; vi, 965]

During the provosty of Alexander Chalmer he was received as a burgess.[CR, vi, 14] He last appears on 18 Nov 1488 with other chaplains of the parish church.[St Nich. Cart., i, 72] In Chalmer's old age the altar was given to Mr William Colison until Mr David Menzies should return.[SR, i, 226] Evidently Colison and Menzies were to serve as his deputies until his death or resignation. He was still in possession of the service at his death, as on 9 June 1495, he was named late chaplain of the Drum service of St Ninian. He was succeeded by sir John Black.[St Nich. Cart., i, 45]

Sir John Chalmer (II):

A priest and notary of the diocese of Aberdeen who appears in Forfar on 27 May 1495 may be identifiable with the perpetual chaplain at Andrew Murray's newly endowed altar of St Salvator on 11 Apr 1497.[Boyd Papers, 14; St Nich. Cart., i, 95] He still held this service at his last appearance on 7 Jan 1509/10.[CR, viii, 1051] On 14 July 1510 the collector of the chaplains of the parish church received £20 from Chalmer's executor, John Williamson, to purchase a 24s rent for the celebration of the Mass of the Five Wounds at the altar of St Salvator.[SR, iii, 227; St Nich. Cart., i, 195]

Mr Thomas Chalmer (I):

Elizabeth Blinsel donated a missal to the chaplains of St Nicholas in return for their prayers for herself, her late husband Thomas Chalmer, burgess of Aberdeen, and her son Mr Thomas.[St Nich. Cart., i, 213; SR, iii, 34] In Feb 1511/12 he is said to be a nephew of Mr Alexander Hay, rector of Dutho, and in Feb 1514/15 served as an executor of Alexander Hay, burgess of Aberdeen and spouse of Elizabeth Chalmer.[SR, iii, 343, 349, 412] In 1523 he is described as a priest of Aberdeen diocese.[MS Aberdeen Townhouse Charters, 23] He first appears on 7 Mar 1501/2 when given possession of the service of St Anne following presentation by John, lord Forbes.[SR, ii, 21] He appears as proctor of sir John Chalmer (II), chaplain of St Salvator in Jan 1503/4.[CR, viii, 303] In 1504 he was presented to the Robert Blinsel's newly built and endowed chapel of St Ninian on the Castlehill, and still held this in 1521.[TAES, i, 26; CR, x, 332] He appears to have resigned this before his death as, on 8 May 1543, sir John Wricht was presented to the chaplainry by the burgh council

which had come to hold its patronage.[SR, iv, 283] On 4 Mar 1504/5 the burgh granted Chalmer the service of the Blessed Virgin, vacant by the death of Mr Alexander Fife, and he was given institution on the same day.[CR, viii, 427; SR, ii, 213] He held this at least as late as 1537/8.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 278] On 14 Aug 1506 the burgh granted him licence, as their chaplain of Our Lady, to pass in pilgrimage to "Sanct John of Anorass".[CR, viii, 600] It is likely that he made the journey as there is an absence of reference to him until 11 Feb 1507/8.[SR, iii, 3] On 20 Mar 1510/11 he appears as notary public.[SR, iii, 271] On the death of sir William Morison in 1509 he became curate of Aberdeen, still served as such in 1543, and probably until his death.[SR, iii, 190] From Jan 1516/7 until his death he held a service of St Katherine's altar.[CR, ix, 651; xvi, 58] On 5 Mar 1520/21, Mr Thomas Chalmer, "perergrinaturus versus Sanctum Jacobum in Compestella", created the provost Gilbert Menzies and William Blinsel his tutors testamental and guardians to his daughters Agnes and Margaret Chalmer, in whose favour he resigned his properties in the town.[SR, iv, 78] Evidently he made this second pilgrimage, as until 17 June 1521 he again disappears from record, and on 5 July following he protested "how he being without the realm" his Blinsel kinsmen had attempted to reappropriate the endowments of the chapel of St Ninian.[CR, x, 325, 332] He came into conflict with the council, which, on 28 July 1522, commissioned the provost to petition the Bishop and vicar for his removal from the curacy "for sundry and diverse faults he has oft committed against their common weil, and principally for the bringing of ane new novatioun accepand the fundaciounis of the altaris to be at the papis gift, and many other faults committed by him that are against his office".[CR, xi, 144] Chalmer and the council were evidently reconciled and he retained the curacy and his services of the town. An inventory of town writs lists a presentation of Mr Thomas to the hospital of St Thomas, but this is an error for either Mr John or sir Andrew.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 291] He founded a mass of St Katherine at St Katherine's altar to be celebrated every Tuesday for himself and his mother.[St Nich. Cart., i, 196] He last appears on 24 Nov 1543 as curate, and was deceased by 21 July 1545.[CR, xviii, 31; SR, viii, 10]

Mr Thomas Chalmer (II):

In succession to John Fife, Thomas Chalmer was granted the clerkship of the Guestrow on 11 Oct 1505, together with 20s of sir William Coupar's clerkship.[CR, viii, 507] Couper proved tardy in his payment.[CR, viii, 571, 584, 655] On 7 June 1507 Chalmer was licenced to pass to the schools, serving his clerkship on ferial days by Jock Murray who was to receive half of its profits. Chalmer was to serve on Sundays and holy days. He undertook not to enter the service of any other body in the meantime.[CR, viii, 702] On 2 May 1511 the burgh granted the clerkship of the Guestrow to John Murray and John Buchan, the office being vacant by the dimission of Mr Thomas Chalmer, the grandson of Alexander Chalmer.[CR, viii, 1181] He appears as vicar of Migvie between 26 Oct 1518 and 29 Nov 1532/33, a benefice in the patronage of the priory of St Andrews.[SR, iv, 22; CR, xiv, 88] He had been succeeded in this by Mr William Hay by 9 Feb 1539.[CR, xvi, 461] On 14 Dec 1519 he received a presentation under the Privy Seal for collation to the chaplainry of Collihill in the Chapel of Garioch when it became vacant by the resignation of sir Alexander Dumbreck. He had possession of the service on 10 Oct 1524.[RSS, i, 3057; SR, iv, 125] Hay evidently also succeeded Chalmer here, being in possession on 8 June 1544.[RSS, iii, 842] On 21 June 1535 Isobel Roland, the wife of John Chalmer admitted receiving a doublet given to David Roland by "umquhill Maister Thomas Chalmer quhen he lay seik in thar houiss".[CR, xiv, 583]

Sir William Chalmer:

First appears as chaplain of St James on 9 Jan 1440/41.[CR, iv, 226] On 14 May 1441 described as sir William de Camera, presbyter and licentiate in arts, he was presented by Henry de Leith of Barns to the newly endowed chaplainry of Our Lady at the altar of SS Lawrence and Ninian, with power of substitution.[St Nich. Cart., i, 182] He is probably to be identified with the sir William de Camera who appears as a determinant of St Andrews 3 Dec 1436 and as a licentiate of 1438.[St A. Acta, 19, 20] He had died or resigned by 1457 when sir John Chalmer (I) appears as chaplain of St James.[CR, v, 799]



Mr Thomas Clerk:

A sir Thomas Clerk appears as curate of Kynellar on 19 Nov 1505, and a Thomas Clerici of the diocese of St Andrews as a batchelor of Paris of 1469-70, and as sir Thomas Clerici, a batchelor of 1470.[SR, ii, 286-7; Paris Uni. Auctarium, vi, 462, 38; iii, 132, 38] Whichever of these he might be, a Mr Thomas Clerk is named on 10 July 1518 as last chaplain of the Magdalen, annexed to King's College as a burse in Civil Law, in which he was succeeded by Mr Hector Mirtoun.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 309] A Mr Thomas Clark appears as vicar of Rayne on 23 Jan 1534/5 and 31 May 1535.[Prot. Bk. Cristisone, 142, 152]

Sir Alexander Club:

Alexander Club "de Scotia" and of the diocese of Aberdeen appears as a student of arts at Louvain on 9 May 1458.[Louvain, ii, 53,30] As sir Alexander Club, chaplain of the same diocese, he appears in Aberdeen on 30 Sept 1461 when he was presented by Alexander Howison to a newly endowed chaplaincy of the Brown Cross.[St Nich. Cart., i, 56] He still served the altar on 4 Oct 1484, and probably until his death.[CR, vi, 879] He was listed as a chaplain of the college of St Nicholas in 1491.[St Nich. Cart., i, 257] In Aug 1504 and 1509 he resigned his land in the Green and Schoolhill to his cousin Agnes Club.[SR, ii, 154; iii, 149] He last appears on 15 Dec 1509 in the chapter of the parish church, and was deceased by 10 May 1520.[SR, iii, 190; iv, 61]

Sir Andrew Colison:

First occurs 10 Feb 1495/6.[CR, vii, 706] He was given institution in the Colison chaplainry of St Stephen by his brother, Duncan, on 23 Dec 1499 and still served the altar on 17 June 1510.[SR, i, 875; CR, viii, 1095] He served the other Colison service of St Michael, founded by Matthew Fechat, from 7 June 1500 to 11 Jan 1506/7.[SR, i, 907; CR, viii, 651] On 23 June 1508 he was granted a pension of £5 for his service in the choir until the council should promote him to a perpetual chaplainry of greater value.[CR, viii, 846] He last appears on 17 June 1510, and had died by 14 Dec 1519 when his brother german, James Colison, burgess of Aberdeen, founded an anniversary in

his memory.[CR, viii, 1095; St Nich. Cart., i 126] Mr David Menzies had succeeded him at St Michael's altar before 28 Apr 1511.[CR, viii, 1179]

Sir John Colison (I):

On 18 July 1472 Matthew Fechat gave his newly endowed chantry at St Michael to John Colison, "clericus", the second son of David Colison and his own daughter, Agnes Fechat.[St Nich. Cart., i, 87] On 20 Mar 1497/8 David, abbot of Arbroath, presented John Colisone, a clerk of the diocese of Aberdeen to the Bishop of Moray for collation to the perpetual vicarage of Inverness, then vacant by the death of Mr Alexander Sutherland.[Arbroath Liber, ii, 315]

Sir John Colison (II):

On 13 June 1539 the burgh hired John Collesone, younger, son of their late well beloved neighbour James, for 10 merks for his service in the parish church until it was possible to provide him with a better income.[CR, xvi, 275] He appears as chaplain of an unnamed altar in 1545, and on 1 Mar 1558/9 as vicar of Aberdeen.[CR, xviii, 473; St Nich. Cart., i, 276] Between 12 Feb 1545/6 and 20 Feb 1559/60 he appears as chaplain of Our Lady altar.[CR, xix, 38; xxiii, 285] On 3 Jan 1548/9 he was presented by Alexander Rutherford to the altar of St Andrew, vacant by the death of Mr Robert Menzies, from which he was to pay Mr Edward Menzies a 40s pension.[SR, viii, 122] On 2 Oct 1564 he appears as chaplain of St Stephen, probably the Colison service.[CR, xxiii, 222] He occurs as succentor of St Machar's between 20 Oct 1565 and his death.[Watt, Fasti, 17] On 19 Aug 1575 he, along with his colleagues, chaplains of the choir, resigned the lands and rents of the college of St Nicholas into the hands of the burgh, although with reservation for life.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 378] On 26 June 1577 he demitted the vicarage in favour of his eme, Walter Cullen, reader of Aberdeen, again with reservation for life.[Spalding Misc., ii, 45] Another chantry to which he was presented, prior to 1573, was the Knollis service of St Mary Magdalen in St Giles, Edinburgh.[RMS, v 756] He is said to have died on 25 July 1584.[Spalding Misc., ii, 56]

Mr William Colison:

William and Gilbert Colison appear as determinants of the faculty of arts of St Andrews of the year 1483-84, and as licentiates of 1485.[St A. Acta, 216, 220] Mr William Colison first appears in Aberdeen on 11 Aug 1485, and was listed as a chaplain of the college in 1491.[CR, vi, 930; St Nich. Cart., i, 257] He was instituted in the Colison service of St Stephen on 30 Sept 1490 and held it until his death between 26 Aug and 23 Dec 1499.[SR, i, 208, 843, 875] He was given the Drum chantry of St Ninian on 28 May 1491 until the return of Mr David Menzies.[SR, i, 226]

Sir Andrew Coupar:

First appears 31 May 1488 when, with the advice of the curate and chaplains, the burgh granted the clerkship of the Castlegate to Andrew Coupar, his father, William, standing surety. The council further undertook to augment his fee when he came of age.[CR, vii, 60] On 23 Oct 1498 he appears as collector of the chaplains.[SR, i, 777] On 22 Nov 1498 the council granted him a fee of 4 merks for his service to be done in the choir and kirk.[CR, vii, 917] On 18 June 1501 he obliged himself to pay Jock of Fife 20s every year for surrendering the clerkship of the Guestrow to his brother, William Coupar.[CR, vii, 1099; SR, iv, 163] On 27 May 1502 the burgh assigned him a fee of 8 merks.[CR, vii, 114] On 17 Sept 1504 he was found the son and legitimate heir of the late William Coupar.[CR, viii, 372] He was hired for £10 6s on 27 Jan 1505/06 until the town should provide him to a service. Further he was to help instruct the sangsters and bairns.[CR, viii, 541] On 31 July 1505 he was in possession of the Waus service of St Martin, at which altar on 4 Nov 1506 he founded an obit for his father and his mother Agnes.[SR, ii, 256; St Nich. Cart., i, 103] His pension in July 1508 was said to be £7 8s.[CR, viii, 847] This decrease may have been a result of his promotion to the altar of St Duthac in which he occurs on 27 Nov 1508.[CR, viii, 903] In Oct 1515 he still drew a fee as one of the burgh's sangsters.[CR, ix, 512] In May 1517 he and William Blinseill were found heirs of their uncle, John Couper, in a property in the Shiprow.[CR, ix, 710] On 8 Oct 1518 sir John Cuming occurs as a chorister and the town's player on the organs, to whom 8d of St Nicholas' bread was to be paid on Sundays and principal feasts, as

use was to his predecessor sir Andrew Coupar.[CR, x, 8] On 31 Aug 1520 Coupar founded a second anniversary at the altar of St Anne.[SR, iv, 66] Sir Andrew, "that is an agit man and hes bene ane ald servand to the tovun", was the sole town chorister not discharged at Candlemass 1532/33.[CR, xiv, 76] He was still the town's chaplain of St Duthac on 12 May 1536 on which date his eventual successor, sir Robert Spark, acted as his proctor.[CR, xv, 140] He was evidently still alive on 7 July 1536, but deceased by 9 July 1537 when his nephew John Coupar was found heir to his land known as the Round Table.[CR, xv, 177, 373] On 4 Aug 1538 sir William Coupar founded an obit for his parents and for his brother german, sir Andrew.[St Nich. Cart., i, 177]

#### Sir William Coupar:

Wille Couper, sangster, first appears on 13 May 1504 when he was hired by the burgh to make good service in his office of clerk and sacristan as in the year bygone.[CR, viii, 343] On 4 May 1506 he appears as sir William Coupar, and was held to pay from his clerkship a pension of 20s, formerly enjoyed by John Fife, to Thomas Chalmer, a sangster.[CR, viii, 571] On 17 Dec 1509 the burgh promised him the next service at their disposition, on condition that he should resign his office of sacristan or clerk when so promoted.[CR, viii, 1047] On 16 Apr 1520 he had possession of the chapel of St Katherine on the Hill, and still held this on 25 Feb 1526/27.[CR, x, 178; xi, 117] On 28 Apr 1525 his predecessors were named as sir John Stirling and sir David Liell.[CR, xi, 571] On 28 May 1524 he appears as chaplain of the altar of St Thomas Martyr - an error for SS George Martyr and Thomas Apostle founded by the late Thomas Prat.[St Nich. Cart., i, 143] On 12 Nov 1537 he was said to have held the service for 24 years.[CR, xv, 461] On 9 Apr 1529 the town gave him the chaplainry of St Peter, vacant by the death of Mr David Menzies, for his good service to be done in the kirk.[CR, xii, 545] This he retained until his own death. Sir William duly resigned his sacristanship and clerkship and undertook to pay 5 merks of the chaplainry of St Peter to sir Robert Spark. On 20 July 1529 he and sir Andrew Scherar were appointed to receive the moneys assigned to the projected walling of the town with the advice of Mr Alexander Galloway.[CR, xii, 637] In Oct of the following year David Anderson

and "undir him and in his absence" sir William Coupar were appointed masters of the kirk work.[CR, xiii, 4] On 18 Apr 1534 he was presented by Alexander Rutherfurd to the Rutherfurd chantry of St Andrew.[SR, iv, 177] On 9 July 1537 he undertook not to alienate any part of the land of his late brother, sir Andrew Coupar, to whom his nephew, John Coupar, had been found heir.[CR, xv, 373] On 4 Aug 1538 sir William Coupar founded an obit for his parents, his brother sir Andrew, Margaret Chalmer - lady of Findlater, Walter Cullen and Elizabeth Prat.[St Nich. Cart., i, 177] Couper is said to have died on 23 Apr 1539 and on 28 Apr was succeeded at the altar of St Peter by Mr James Menzies.[Spalding Misc., ii, 33; CR, xvi, 229]

Thomas Cowesoun:

Hired as a singer for 40s on 31 Jan 1546.[CR, xix, 285]

Sir Andrew Crag:

Appears as chaplain of St John Baptist in 1400.[Abdn. Recs., 199]

Sir James Crag:

Appears as chaplain of St John Baptist on 6 Oct 1438 and 5 Oct 1439.[CR, iv, 139, 178]

Sir Robert Craik:

On 4 Dec 1507 Robert Crak, sangster, was hired for a year for his diet and 40s fee.[CR, viii, 772] These terms were renewed on 20 Nov 1508, with an undertaking to increase his fee if he persevered in his service.[CR, viii, 901] Following sir Walter Strachan's resignation, Craik was assigned the Castlegate clerkship on 17 Dec 1509.[CR, viii, 1046] On 17 June 1513 he appears as sir Robert Crak.[CR, ix, 235] He was of local birth, as on 17 July 1517 a summons was issued on Margaret Crak, the relict of Robert Reid to answer sir Robert for the destruction of a foreland pertaining to his brother's children.[CR, ix, 727] On 12 July 1521 he was chosen as curator by Marion and Elizabeth Crak, daughters of late Duncan Crak, burgess of Aberdeen.[CR, x, 334]

Mr Andrew Craufurd:

First appears 21 Oct 1493.[SR, i, 368] On 18 Aug 1494 the council protested against the Hammermen's usurpation of the patronage of the altar of St Eloy, yet agreed to confirm for one year the craft's presentation of Craufurd.[CR, vii, 554] He still held the service on 24 May 1497.[SR, i, 671] For his past and future service in the kirk, the burgh on 5 May 1497 promised Craufurd the first chaplainry or service of 10 merks at their disposal.[CR, vii, 798] On 9 Sept 1498 the burgh duly gave him their service of St Peter, vacant by the death of sir Matthew Nicholson, and which he held until his own death.[SR, i, 764] On 27 Jan 1504/5 he was found as the nearest heir of his "avunculus" sir Andrew Gray, in a land in the Guestrow.[CR, viii, 415] On 31 Jan 1504/5, as the town's chaplain of St Peter, the burgh granted him free licence for the next five years to pass wherever he pleased, praying for the founders of the altar, in return for the reconstruction of its ruinous tenement.[CR, vii, 418] In Apr 1505 Margaret Litstar, relict of John Stevinson, constituted her "avunculus", Craufurd, her proctor.[CR, viii, 438, 441] In Aug 1505 he appears as a notary public.[CR, viii, 476] He last appears on 24 Nov 1505, and had died by 12 Jan 1505/6 when Mr David Menzies was granted his chaplainry of St Peter.[CR, viii, 524; CSN, ii, 344] On 6 Mar 1505/6 Thomas Craufurd was found legitimate and nearest heir to his "avunculus", Mr Andrew.[CR, viii, 556] On 25 Jan 1521 letters of legitimation were issued under the Great Seal in favour of Andrew Craufurd, bastard, natural son of the late Mr Andrew Craufurd, chaplain.[RMS, iii, 214]

Mr Andrew Cruden:

In 1443 Andrew de Croudan de Scotia appears in the university of Köln.[Köln, i, 219,68] On 16 Feb 1446/47 the council granted £4 to the support and relief of Mr Andrew Cruden "nati- confratris gilde huius burgi pro labore suo circa predicationem et doctrina populi huius burgi".[CR, v, 715] However, on 13 Dec 1448 the council declared that it would not continue any fee to Cruden, but if he made good service the council would consider his reward.[CR, v, 734]

Sir William Cruickshank:

He first appears 30 Sept 1482 as chaplain of the altar of St Duthac, and apparently served both burgh and Scherar services.[CR, vi, 752] In 1491 he was listed as one of the members of the college.[St Nich. Cart., i, 257] He retained St Duthac's until his death, between 15 Apr 1504 and 23 Dec 1504.[CR, viii, 334, 405]

Mr Andrew Cullen:

The son of Andrew Cullen, provost of Aberdeen, he first appears 10 May 1519.[SR, viii, 30; iv, 34] He was possibly a notary in Apr 1524.[CR, xi, 440] On 23 Sept 1531 he appears in Edinburgh as a witness to the confirmation of a charter by Bishop Dunbar of Aberdeen.[RMS, iii, 1073] Between 14 Dec 1529 and 18 May 1545 he appears as parson of Fetternear.[Abdn. Reg., ii, 397; SR, viii, 2] On 23 Apr 1539 he was presented by the patron, Robert Cullen, to the Prat/Cullen service of SS Thomas and George.[SR, iv, 234] This he held until his death. He held the vicarage of Aberdeen from at least 31 May 1546 and is said to have retained it until his death in 1560, but there is reference to sir John Colison as vicar as early as 1558/59.[CR, xix, 127; Spalding Misc., ii, 34; St Nich. Cart., i, 276] He was still alive 19 Apr 1554.[SR, viii, 248] He is said to have died 7 July 1560, but is known to have been deceased on 1 Apr 1560.[Spalding Misc., ii, 34; St Nich. Cart., ii, 283]

Mr John Cuming:

Probably to be identified with a determinant at Glasgow in 1480.[Glasgow Univ. Munimenta, ii, 90, 233] On 3 July 1484 he was among four batchelors presented for election by Mr Walter Leslie.[Glasgow Univ. Munimenta, ii, 240] Leslie himself later appears as the founder of the altar of SS Mungo and Tovine in St Nicholas of Aberdeen.[See App. 2] Mr John Cuming first appears in Aberdeen on 3 Apr 1508, and associated with other chaplains of the parish church in Dec of the same year.[SR, iii, 32, 26] In Apr 1509 he occurs as a notary public, in association with John Cuming, alias Piper, a burgess and the father of sir John Cuming.[SR, iii, 110] On 4 June 1509 he appears as chaplain of the altar of St Katherine founded by Mr John Clatt in the cathedral.[SR, iii, 138] Links with the cathedral and university are confirmed on 12 Dec 1515, when he

appears as chaplain of the Magdalen altar, the Civil Law burse.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 307] He was succeeded here by Mr Thomas Clerk who resigned the altar in 1518.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 309] On 8 July 1519 as prebendary of Deer he appears as proctor to his cousin Robert Stevinson.[CR, x, 92] On 5 Aug 1519 he was elected tutor to Elizabeth and Margaret Chalmer, daughters of the late Thomas Chalmer.[SR, iv, 40] He still held the prebend on 21 Feb 1521/22.[CR, xi, 40] He last appears on 19 Oct 1531, and was deceased by 27 Jan 1539/40.[CR, xiii, 252; SR, iv, 243]

Sir John Cuming:

On 25 June 1515 the burgh granted to William Leslie the Castlegate clerkship previously held by John Cuming.[CR, ix, 462] A notary of this name appears in Aberdeen on 26 Mar 1516, but may be identifiable with Mr John Cuming.[RMS, iii, 94] On 16 May 1518 he appears as a chaplain, and on 8 Oct 1518 the burgh ordained that sir John Cuming, their chorister and organist, should have 8d of St Nicholas bread every Sunday, and 16d every principal feast, as enjoyed by his predecessor sir Andrew Coupar.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 267; CR, x, 6] On 17 Dec 1518 he was assigned a fee of 5 merks 2s with an additional 5 merks from the clerkship of the Castlegate and 4 merks of burgh lands.[CR, x, 27] On 10 Jan 1518 the burgh, considering that divine service was let down in that none attended the song school, granted Cuming the rule of the school, to teach their bairns to sing and play "quhilk is ryght necesser to the uphault of godis service".[CR, x, 33] On 24 Mar 1521/22 his fee as organist and singer for the year from Whitsun had increased to 20 merks, and on 31 Mar 1522 this was renewed for life, together with the sang school and its profits. Cuming was required to make daily service in the choir, and to play upon the organs when necessary. He was forbidden to leave the town either on pilgrimage or other business without licence of the town. If he were promoted to a burgh chaplainry he would default the corresponding portion of his fee.[CR, xi, 60, 66] On 27 Mar 1525 he was found legitimate heir to his father, John Cuming, alias Piper. His mother was named as Marjory Maitland.[SR, iv, 117] On 19 Jan 1526/27 he is described as "presbyter".[SR, iv, 139] Between 9 Oct 1534 and 2 Dec 1546 he appears as chaplain of St Katherine's chapel on the hill.[CR, xiv, 454; xix, 258]



Patrick Cuming:

On 14 Oct 1524 Patrick Cuming was conducted as a singer for 20s towards his clothing and his diet among the burgesses of the town.[CR, xi, 488] On 10 Nov 1525 he was hired for the terms of five years for his diet and an increased clothing fee of 2½ merks.[CR, xi, 647] On 9 Oct 1528 he was given a clerkship in succession to William Strachan.[CR, xii, 435] The burgh assigned 40s to him for a further gown on the following 11 Dec.[CR, xii, 463] Cuming resigned his clerkship to the town, and on 8 Oct 1529 was given that formerly held by Gilbert Robertson.[CR, xii, 693] On 17 Nov 1531 he was hired as a singer for 10 merks fee, including his 5 merk clerkship and his diet, "aye and quhill ye said Patrik be promovit to ye ordour of prestheid".[CR, xiii, 284] He was probably a kinsman of sir John Cuming, in association with whom he appears 14 Feb 1535/36.[CR, xv, 97] On 7 Feb 1538/39 the dean of gild was ordered to pay his fee, remitting all his faults bygone. However, he was warned that "gif ever he war fundin in samony faltis agane or yarby as he vas at yis tyme" he would forfeit his most recent increment of 4 merks.[CR, xvi, 144]

Mr David Davidson:

An individual of this name appears in Aberdeen on 27 Sept 1512, and may be identifiable with the priest of 28 July 1539.[SR, iii, 399; iv, 234] In 1541 he held the chaplainry of the Holy Rood, and was represented by his factor, sir John Wricht, who may have acted as his depute.[CR, xvi, 827] This was probably the service of the Brown Cross, as sir John Fife is known to have held the town's service of the Rood from 1512 until 1543. Davidson was still alive on 17 Nov 1556.[SR, viii, 312]

Sir Thomas Davidson:

First appears 2 July 1442 as a chaplain.[CR, iv, 274] Following letters of presentation by James, lord Forbes, on 2 June 1458 he received letters of collation to the chaplainry of St Anne, vacant by the resignation of Mr John Smalee.[Abdn. Reg., i, 282] He still held the altar on 24 Aug 1465 when Smalee further endowed the altar.[St Nich. Cart., i, 27] They both appear as spiritual men of

the council on 2 May 1475.[CR, vi, 361] He may be the same individual who appears at Inchtute on 17 Oct 1486 with sir William Ettale, possibly to be identified with another Aberdeen chaplain.[RMS, ii, 1663]

Sir William Davidson:

Appears on 6 Oct 1438 and 12 Jan 1438/39 as chaplain of St Michael.[CR, iv, 139, 152] He was still alive on 2 July 1442, but had died by 29 Apr 1454.[CR, iv, 274; v, 199]

Mr David Douglas:

A number of individuals of this name appear. In Aug 1494, at Bawcanquell, a Mr David Douglas appears as brother of Robert Douglas of Lochleven.[RMS, ii, 2226] A David Douglas was incorporated at Glasgow in 1497 and occurs as a batchelor proceeding to licentiate on 27 July 1499.[Glasgow Univ. Munimenta, ii, 113, 274, 275] On 12 Jan 1503/4 Mr David Douglas was presented under the Privy Seal to the vicar general of St Andrews for collation to the vicarage of Newbern.[RSS, i, 1011] Another appears among the determinants of the faculty of arts of St Andrews of the year 1514 and the licentiates of 28 May 1515.[St A. Acta, 312, 313] It is probably this last for whom sir Andrew Scherar, chamberlain of Aberdeen, acted as proctor on 5 Oct 1523, in pursuit of rents due to the service of St Christopher.[CR, xi, 273] In Nov 1524 sir William Ray appears in the same role.[CR, xi, 495] Douglas still held the service on 21 Oct 1525.[SR, iv, 129] Between Mar 1532 and 1533 he received papal provision to the Chancellorship of Aberdeen, which he still held on 13 Oct 1534.[Watt, Fasti, 14] In the vacancy of the see he impetrated the precentory of Dunkeld, had litigation which impeded possession, and resigned his right in favour of Robert Montgomery on 26 May 1533.[Watt, Fasti, 109] On 12 Nov 1535 sir Alexander Russell appears as his factor for the service of St Stephen. He still held this on 28 Aug 1536.[CR, xv, 35, 201] He is possibly to be identified with the notary and priest active in Elgin between 14 Aug 1538 and 20 May 1546.[Moray Reg., 398, 402; RMS, iii, 2248, 2415, 2977, 3187, 3126] Two books survive bearing the inscription "David Douglas", but which individual is unclear, although "De Naturae Mirabilibus Opusculum", published in Paris in 1524 and at one time in

the possession of Ferrerius, is suggestive of the Moray notary.[Durkan and Ross, Libraries, 96, 107]

Sir Angus Duncanson:

Occurs between 1 June 1545 and 26 Feb 1545/46 as chaplain of Our Lady founded at the altar of St Ninian by the late Henry Leith.[CR, xviii, 467; xix, 42]

Mr Alexander Dyce:

Listed as a member of the college in 1491.[St Nich. Cart., i, 258]

Sir Andrew Ettale:

On 15 Sept 1477 Andrew Ettale was granted the Guestrow and Schoolhill clerkship.[CR, vi, 495] On 12 July 1483, in succession to Richard Boyle, he was granted that of the Gallowgate.[CR, vi, 796] On 5 Apr 1486 he appears as sir Andrew Ettale, chaplain, to whom the burgh granted the keeping of the "ferdyn" and a fee of 2 merks.[CR, vi, 949] He is associated with other chaplains of St Nicholas in Sept 1488.[CR, vii, 76] In an undated document he appears as a notary public.[Abdn. Reg., i, 263] On 7 May 1506 he occurs as a vicar-choral of the cathedral, occupying the stall of Murthlak, and holding the chaplainry of Logie-Mar.[Abdn. Reg., ii, 96]

Sir William Falconer:

Appears as a chaplain of the choir, 31 Jan 1490.[St Nich. Cart., i, 225]

Sir John Fethy:

There has been some attempt to identify Thomas Wood's organist with the "dominus Johannis Fethy, noster confrater", who in 1498 was granted a licence by the Abbot of Arbroath to study abroad at a university.[New Grove, vi, 511] However, this individual was a monk who appears as chamberlain of Arbroath on 16 and 27 May 1489 while on business in Aberdeen.[SR, i, 164, 165] He is probably the same as the "Dominus Johannes Fethe" incorporated at St Andrews in 1491.[St Andrew Univ. Recs., 188, 232] The sixteenth century individual appears to have been a secular cleric. According to Wood (writing in 1592), Fethy was a "papeist preist", who about seventy years

earlier returned from abroad as "the first organist that ever brought in Scotland the curious new fingering and playing on organs", which is taken to refer to the use of all digits. As this is a relatively common name, there must remain some uncertainty in the identification of some references with the organist. A "John Fewthie" ran an unofficial school in Dundee.[Maxwell, Old Dundee, 156] John, the son of sir John Fethy, vicar of Cramond, was legitimated on 14 Mar 1529/30.[RSS, ii, 584; St Andrew Univ. Recs., 232] A sir John Fathe or Faithe who appears in Forres 7 May 1535, and as a chaplain in Elgin 26 Nov 1543, is probably the sir John Fethy at Findlater on 22 Nov 1563.[RMS, iii, 1580, 3001; iv, 1508] The earliest definite reference to the musician is of Jan 1541/42 when payments were made for liveries "for Schir Johnne Fechyis children that plays on the violis".[Treasurer Accts., viii, 54] On 18 Sept 1544, sir John Fethy was hired by the burgh of Aberdeen to be a prebendary and organist of the choir and to have the rule of the sang school.[CR, xviii, 253] On 12 Jan 1544/45 he appears as precentor of the Chapel Royal of Stirling.[RSS, iii, 1026] On 25 Mar 1546 the council of Aberdeen reviewed his contract of 1544 "becaus he hes not keipit continuale service in time bigane". He was to make continual service, keeping matins, high mass and evensong every Sunday and other great feasts and holy days, the Holy Blood Mass on Thursdays and Our Lady Mass on Wednesday and Saturdays, "and playand on yar organis as ye tymes requires". In the school he was to "teche and lerne bayt singing and playing and uther guid manieris to ye barnis and young men tharof, to teche in the same himself every work day anis on the day and to have sufficient deputies under him to teche in his absence".[CR, xix, 65] On 12 July 1546 he and his deputy, John Black, settled a dispute over their tuition and discipline of the school.[CR, xviii, 161] Fethy was still in the employ of the town on 18 Apr 1547.[CR, xviii, 323] On 31 July 1551 he was granted the sang school of Edinburgh, which he resigned before 13 Sept 1568.[RSS, vi, 487] In 1554-5 he received payment for the "tonying of the organis at Sanct Geillis day".[Edinburgh Burgh Accounts, 43] On 28 Feb 1562/63 he is named as the subchanter of the Chapel Royal, but this is surely an error.[RSS, v, 1268] He was still in possession of the precentory on 6 May 1565 and 20 Mar 1565/66.[RSS, v, 2042,

2691] He was still alive on 12 Aug 1566 when he appears as usufructuar of the precentory.[SRO, Reg. Deeds; vii, fo.318]

Mr Walter Fethy:

On 8 Apr 1521 Walter Futhe, singer, was hired by the council to make daily residence and service in the choir at matins, mass and evensong, and all other service. For this he would receive 40s to his clothing "and his daylie meyt owiklie amang the gudmen of the samyn".[CR, x, 295, 299] On 7 Oct 1521, he was hired for the same fee "to play on thar organis small or gret quhen he is requirit for thre zeiris nixt to cum".[CR, x, 365] He still served as singer and organist on 16 June 1522. After 7 July 1522, when he received a further 40s to his clothing, Fethy disappears from Aberdeen records.[CR, xi, 116, 127] However, a Walter Fethy appears as a determinant of 1522/3 in St Leonard's College, St Andrews, and a licentiate of 6 Mar 1524.[St A. Acta, 349] This, however, is a tentative identification, as normally a minimum of eighteen months study was required before determination. As Mr Walter Fethy, he was elected an examiner of determinants between 1526/7 and 1543/44.[St A. Acta, 354, 398] He appears as a regent of St Leonard's in 1527/8, of St Salvator's in 1528/29, and the Pedagogy between 1532 and 1537/38.[St A. Acta, 356, 360, 368, 385] In 1538 he was appointed regent of St Mary's College by Archbishop Beaton.[Rankin, Parish Church of St Andrews, 90] In 1541 and 1544 he appears as the chaplain of St Martin in the parish church of Holy Trinity.[Rankin, Parish Church of St Andrews 90] On occasion he was elected as quodlibetarius.[St A. Acta, 368, 395] Probably from 1544, and certainly between 28 Apr 1548 and 24 Feb 1550/51, he served as Dean of the Faculty of Arts.[St A. Acta, 400n] In 1546 he appears as president of the chapter of St Mary's, and as in 1541, commissary of the official.[Rankin, Parish Church of St Andrews,90]

Mr Alexander Fife:

Alexander Ffyff, of the diocese of Aberdeen, took his bachelor's and master's degrees at Paris in 1459 and 1460.[Paris Uni. Auctarium, ii, 924,11; 931,3,n2; 338,43] As Mr Alexander Fife, chaplain, he first appears in Aberdeen on 12 Mar 1465/66, in association with John Fife, a burgess of the town.[Arbroath Liber, ii, 148] Between 1467 and

1469 he and George de Fife were received as burgesses.[CR, vi, 14] In Oct 1471 he is listed as one of those to be given promotion to a vacant chantry in the gift of the burgh.[CR, vi, 165] On 10 Jan 1479/80 he appears as chaplain of St Michael, which he still held on 21 Feb 1482, when the burgh is seen to have promised him the service of Our Lady.[CR, vi, 782] This he duly received on 10 Dec 1484, on the death of sir Andrew Seres, and he held it until his own death.[CR, vi, 890] He was listed as a chaplain of the college in 1491.[St Nich. Cart., i, 257] He first occurs as chaplain of the Trinitarian service at the high altar of St Nicholas on 9 Jan 1502/3 and held this at his death, between 16 and 25 Feb 1504/5.[CR, viii, 180; SR, iii, 208, 211]

Sir John Fife:

First appears on 18 June 1501 as Jock of Fife, having resigned his clerkship of the Guestrow in favour of William Coupar and in return for a 20s pension.[CR, vii, 1099] As a sangster of the burgh he was licenced on 29 Apr 1504 to pass to the schools and to retain his clerkship. With the agreement of his kinsman, Mr Alexander Fife, this was to be served by Wate Strachan.[CR, viii, 389] On 4 June 1508 he appears as sir John Fife.[SR, iii, 48, 119] On 25 Oct 1512 he was given possession of the altar of the Holy Rood, a burgh service vacant by the death of sir John Prat.[SR, iii, 159] On 4 July 1516 the burgh undertook to defend their presentation of Fife to the Magdalen altar against King's College, but this was unsuccessful.[CR, ix, 597] Fife came into conflict with the town authorities. On 20 Nov 1520 the council found him guilty of failure to keep continual service in the choir, being seditious of condition and guilty of sowing discord among the neighbours of the town and brethren of the kirk. On two previous occasions he had been the cause of suspension of the kirk. On these grounds the council moved that he be discharged and another singer hired in his place.[CR, x, 259] On 3 Mar 1521/22 Fife was stated to have been continued in their service to Candlemass. With only one dissenting vote, the council repeated its decision that he then be discharged and replaced.[CR, xi, 47] Whatever the root of these troubles, Fife was reconciled with the council and reappears in Oct 1526 as chaplain of the Rood, and retained this until his death.[CR, xii, 64] On 7 Oct

1533 he is described as a priest.[SR, iv, 171] He last appears in May 1539, and died shortly before 11 June 1543.[St Nich. Cart., i, 212; Abdn. Counc., i, 189]

Mr Alexander Forbes:

Sandy Forbes held the office of sacristan between 4 June 1508 and July 1514.[SR, iii, 48, 187, 210, 165, 374, 402] He had surrendered the office by 20 Jan 1519/20 when he is described as "umquhill segster".[CR, x, 157] As Mr Alexander Forbes, chaplain, he first appears on 15 Feb 1522/23.[SR, iv, 111] Described as a priest of the diocese of Aberdeen, he was presented and collated to the altar of St Anne on 7 May 1523 in succession to Mr Duncan Chalmer. He still held the chaplainry on 2 Oct 1525.[Abdn. Reg., i, 387; SR, iv, 116; CR, xi, 626] On 23 May 1539 he appears at Monimusk as rector of Forbes.[Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 282]

Thomas Forbes:

As a chorister Forbes was granted 14s for his clothing on 17 Dec 1509.[CR, viii, 1046]

William Forstar:

On 20 Oct 1449 the burgh granted Forstar the next vacant parish clerkship.[CR, v, 64]

Sir James Fraser:

On 13 Dec 1448 the council continued Fraser's fee of the kirk service to Whitsun, after which the burgh would be free to fee another.[CR, v, 734]

Sir John Gall:

On 12 Oct 1444 the burgh council granted licence to Mr John Smalee to remain at St Andrews University, serving his chaplainry of the Holy Rood by a substitute, sir John Gall.[CR, v, 681] On 10 Oct 1460 Gall appealed for the repair of the ornaments of his service of St Leonard. Among the proctors of the town appeared David Simson, later patron of a service at the altar.[CR, v, 821] On 13 Jan 1471/72 and 6 Apr 1472 he appeared as chaplain of St Katherine's Chapel.[CR, vi, 171, 175] He was deceased by 16 Mar 1474/75 when

Alexander Scrogis appeared as his executor, and Alice Gilruth his heir.[CR, vi, 354]

Mr John Galloway:

On 11 May 1506 Robert Walker was convicted for the troubling of John Galloway and imprisoned in the stocks "unto the time he be freed by the master of the scuyl and the students of the same".[CR, viii, 572] On 12 Jan 1511/12 Galloway appears as a Master, and on 22 Nov 1512 as a notary.[CR, ix, 66; SR, iii, 167] On 8 June 1521 he appears as parson of Drumoak and as brother of Mr Alexander Galloway, the rector of Kinkell.[Abdn. Reg., i, 387] He still held Drumoak on 10 Feb 1533/34.[CR, xiv, 347] He died between 13 Nov 1534 and 9 June 1536.[CR, xiv, 476; xv, 161]

Sir John Goldsmith:

First appears on 17 Dec 1509 as John Goldsmyt, hired for a fee of 2 merks for his service in the kirk.[CR, viii, 1046] On 5 July 1519 sir John Goldsmith was found legitimate heir of his late father, William Goldsmith.[CR, x, 91] On 12 July his mother, Agnes Badenoch, resigned her conjunct fee of an inland in the Castlegate in his favour.[SR, iv, 37] He appears as a chaplain of the choir in Aug 1522, and in Dec 1534 and Dec 1536 the council granted him a gown for his service in the kirk.[St Nich. Cart., i, 138; CR, xiv, 488; xv, 257] He occurs as a notary on 3 Dec 1535.[CR, xv, 60] He held the Hammermen's chaplainry of St Eloy on 25 May 1557, and died in possession before 5 May 1564 when, as late chaplain of the altar, he was said to have sold some of the titles and evidents of the chaplainry "in his necessitie and indigence".[SR, viii, 319; St Nich. Cart., ii, 377]

Mr Alexander Gordon:

Was presented to the Meldrum service at the altar of St Ninian on 12 Mar 1496/97.[SR, i, 663] He appears as a canon of Ross on 18 May 1500.[St Nich. Cart., i, 48] He was collated to the vicarage of Aberdeen on 31 Dec 1507, following the resignation of Andrew Balfour.[Abdn. Reg., i, 352] On 11 Apr 1509 and 24 June 1514 he appears as precentor of Moray and vicar of Aberdeen.[SR, iii, 110, 401]



Mr John Gordon:

On 3 Apr 1520 Alexander, earl of Huntly, granted the altar of St Leonard, then vacant by the death of Alexander Wentoun, to John Gordon, "clericus". Gordon was to serve at the altar when promoted to the priesthood or else substitute a suitable chaplain.[Bulloch, House of Gordon, ii, 30] A notary of this name appears at Pitlurg on 2 July 1531 and 16 Aug 1536, and as vicar of Keith 8 July 1546.[RMS, iii, 1076, 1613, 3280]

---- Gray:

By the agreement of 13 July 1546 the depute master of the sang school, John Black, was to correct and discipline a number of the bairns, including Alexander Gray's two sons.[Abdn. Counc., i, 236] One of these might possibly be identified with Mr Andrew Gray.[q.v.]

Sir Alexander Gray:

First appears on 15 Nov 1488 as a chaplain of the college, of which he is listed as a member in 1491.[St Nich. Cart., i, 72, 257] On 26 Sept 1495 he appears as chaplain of the cordiners' service of SS Crispin and Crispinian, protesting that he lacked his fee of 40s and part of his diet.[CR, vii, 660]

Mr Andrew Gray:

Possibly one of the two sons of Alexander Gray over whom, in 1546, John Black, the depute master of the sang school, was to exercise discipline.[Abdn. Counc., i, 236] On 16 Nov 1556 Black presented Mr Alexander Gray to the baillies of Aberdeen as "ane cunning and qualefeit perseune" to be admitted to a vacancy in the choir.[CR, xxii, 441] In 1557 he succeeded his uncle, Mr Robert Gray, at the altar of St Barbara.[A. White, Thesis, 143; CR xxi, 404] After the Reformation he left Scotland, but made arrangements with his brother that his revenues continue to be collected and forwarded to him in the Low Countries.[A. White, Impact, 95; CR, xxiv, 613]

Sir Andrew Gray:

On 13 Jan 1484/85 the council of Aberdeen granted sir Walter Young a pension of Gray's service of St Michael until he could be promoted to a service.[CR, vi, 897] This is later shown to have been the

Logan/Rutherford chaplainry. In 1491 Gray was listed as a member of the college.[St Nich. Cart., i, 258] On 21 Oct 1493 he granted a rent to the chaplains of the choir for the celebration of a Mass of the Name of Jesus at the altar for himself and his parents, Robert Gray and Ellen Gawitt.[St Nich. Cart., i, 194] In Jan 1494/95 and Apr 1495 he appears as proctor of sir Robert Waus, chaplain of the Magdalen altar.[CR, vii, 598, 624] On 26 Jan 1498/99 he was associated with the master of the grammar school in a context which suggests that Gray may have been one of the depute masters of the school.[CR, vii, 932] On 21 Mar 1501/2 he was collated by Bishop William to the chaplaincy of the Magdalen, vacant by the resignation of sir Robert Waus.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 306] Gray's collation was also his last appearance, as he was deceased by 27 Jan 1504/05 when his land in the Guestrow is said to have been in the hands of the king for about five weeks, in which case he seems to have died at the end of December 1504.[CR, viii, 415] This is borne out by the gift to sir Richard Anderson of St Michael's altar on 26 Dec 1504, vacant by Gray's death.[SR, ii, 199] He is named as the "avunculus" of both Mr Andrew Craufurd and dean Robert Kerroure - this last perhaps the composer of the abbey of Scone.[CR, viii, 415, 434]

#### Mr Robert Gray:

First appears as a determinant of 1507-8 and a licentiate of 1508-9 in the faculty of arts of St Andrews.[St A. Acta, 286, 292] He was one of Manderston's students at Paris, and is said to have been at St Salvator's College.[Major, History, 416; Durkan and Ross, Libraries, 105; AFA, clviii] In July 1519 he appears as a regent at King's.[Abdn. Grads., 50; Durkan, Humanism, 262] He succeeded Mr James Chalmer as mediciner, and appears as such between 1522 and Aug 1549.[Abdn. Fasti, lxxxi, 259] On 14 June 1511 Alexander Gray resigned property to his son Robert, in name of the altar of St Barbara.[SR, iii, 289] He was still alive and chaplain of the altar on 12 May 1553.[NLS Adv. MS 15/1/18/101] He was succeeded at the altar by his nephew, Mr Andrew Gray, in 1557.[A. White, Thesis, 143; CR, xxi, 404] He was succeeded as mediciner by Gilbert Skene between 1550 and 1587.[Abdn. Fasti, lxxxi]

Mr John Hay:

He first appears 9 Mar 1519/20 with Mr Alexander Hay, rector of Turriff.[CR, iv, 55] Described as "artium professor" he was collated on 2 June 1520 to the chaplainry founded by Bishop Spens and united to King's college.[Abdn. Fasti, 76] He appears as a notary, and possibly as vicar of Belhelvie, on 27 Aug 1522.[SR, iv, 104] On 13 Jan 1538/39 he was one of the four competitors for the mastership of the grammar school of Aberdeen, but was unsuccessful.[CR, xvi, 108] On 13 July 1545 he appears as chaplain of St Eloy, probably in succession to sir David Lorimer.[CR, xviii, 504] However, on 7 Mar 1546/47 he was instituted in the altar by the baillies of the town, which may indicate an annual renewal of contract.[CR, xix, 301] He appears as curate of Aberdeen on 10 Jan 1546/7, probably in succession to Mr Thomas Chalmer.[CR, xix, 271] He was still alive on 19 May 1551.[SR, viii, 197]

Sir Andrew Henderson:

On 14 Feb 1458 the minister of the Trinitarians and sir Andrew Henderson agreed on the latter's pension of 6 merks for his service at the altar of St Nicholas.[CR, v, 810] In May 1484 he appears as brother and heir of the late Richard Henrison.[CR, vi, 849] In 1491 he is listed as a member of the college.[St Nich. Cart., i, 257] He last appears and still held the chaplainry of St Nicholas on 11 Apr 1496.[CR, vii, 726] He died in possession of a chaplainry of St Leonard, presumably the Huntly service.[St Nich. Cart., i, 221] His obituary states that he died in 1503, but he was deceased on 4 Apr 1502.[St Nich. Cart., i, 221; CR, viii, 93] He is noted as having owned a land in the Hucksterraw. On 4 July 1502 this is said to have been in the king's hands for about 40 days, but on 29 July for about 9 weeks.[CR, viii, 132, 139] His heirs were his nephew Andrew Burnat and his sister Mariot Henderson.[CR, viii, 132, 139]

Mr John Henderson:

A sir John Henderson appears in Aberdeen on 15 Oct 1538, and a John Henderson of the diocese of Glasgow in the university of Paris on 16 Dec 1542.[SR, iv, 278; Acta Rectoria Universitatis Parisiensis, 1519-1633, SHR, xliii, 76] Mr John Henderson is listed as a regent at King's College, Aberdeen, in 1543, and as an intrant on 20 Oct

1547.[Abdn. Fasti, lxxxv, 264] In Aug 1549 the Bishop of Aberdeen warned Masters John Henderson and James Chalmer, students in theology, to proceed to holy orders under pain of deprivation of their burses - to minor orders by All Saints, the subdiaconate by Christmas, and to the diaconate and priesthood by Easter.[Abdn. Fasti, 271] On 3 July 1559, as Master of the Grammar School of New Aberdeen, he was admitted to the town's service of St Michael, vacant by the death of Mr John Watson.[CR, xxiii, 183] On 21 Mar 1560/61 the town augmented his previous pension of 20 merks to a total of 50 merks, and undertook to enforce payment of rents owing to his chaplainry of St Michael.[Abdn. Counc., i, 326] He still held the mastership on 9 Jan 1569/70.[Abdn. Counc., i, 366] Rather than conform Henderson went into exile in Paris, where he died shortly afterwards.[Durkan, Early Humanism, 272]

Sir David Hervy:

First appears 2 Mar 1520/21 as a notary.[SR, iv, 77] On 13 Jan 1532/33 he was found heir to his late brother, Mr Gilbert Hervy, in a land in Futy.[CR, xiv, 72] He appears as a chaplain and notary at Darnaway in Moray on 4 June 1534.[RMS, iii, 1430] On 25 June 1538 he sought the repossession of a booth in St Stephen's land as owner and presumably chaplain of the same.[CR, xv, 664] On 24 June 1539 he appears in Aberdeen as vicar of Nairn, and on 1 Aug 1539 in Edinburgh with Cuming of Altyre.[Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 287; RMS, iii, 2004] He was still alive on 16 May 1547.[SR, viii, 78]

Sir Henry Hervy:

First appears 22 May 1453 when the burgh granted him 20 merks annually for his good service in the kirk until they should provide him to a service or he find a benefice elsewhere.[CR, v, 778] The scale of his fee illustrates the value placed upon him by the burgh. On 21 Dec 1467 he was presented for collation to the town's altar of St Michael, vacant by the death of sir John Seras.[CR, viii, 428] The right of presentation was disputed by Gilbert Waus, and, in 1471, the case was referred to the Bishop.[CR, vi, 165] This was evidently decided in favour of the burgh which presented Hervy, a priest of the diocese of Aberdeen, to the Bishop for collation to the altar, said to be vacant by the death of sir Robert Roule.[CR, viii,

429] Hervy's presentation was upheld by the town against Mr Duncan Scherar's competing claim of expectative presentation, "considerand that thai nicht nocht gudely forga the service of the said sir Henry fra ye service of queir".[CR, v, 806] He was received as a burgess of gild between 1467 and 1469.[CR, vi, 14] On 8 Jan 1472/73 he was granted a fee of £6 13s 4d with all the profits of the altar.[CR, vi, 217] He was still alive on 17 Sept 1475, but probably deceased by 18 Aug 1478 when the council granted his former 10 merk fee to the building of the choir.[Abdn. Counc., i, 34; CR, vi, 541]

Sir Thomas Hervy:

Appears as chaplain of St Eloy in 1462.[CR, v, 452] On 21 Aug 1469 he was found heir to his cousin Andrew Hervy, son of Henry Hervy.[CR, vi, 95] He is listed, and last appears, as a member of the college in 1491.[St Nich. Cart., i, 257] He held the altar of St Eloy until his death, shortly before 18 Aug 1494, when Mr Andrew Craufurd was presented to the altar by the Hammermen.[CR, vii, 554]

Mr John Homyll:

A "dominus Johannes Homlyne, Scotus", appears as a determinant of 1410 at the university of Paris, and as a licentiate on 7 Apr 1411, and intrant on 6 May 1411.[Paris Uni. Auctarium, ii, 101,7; 104,14; 106,5] He returned to Scotland and appears as a batchelor of 1413-14 and Master of 1414-15 of St Andrews.[St A. Acta, 1, 5] On 15 Dec 1417 he appears as "magistri Johannis Homlyne" in the English nation of Paris.[Paris Uni. Auctarium, ii, 236,43; 237,5] On 10 Oct 1418 Mr John Homyll was presented to the chancellor of Aberdeen for examination and collation to the mastership of the scholars of Aberdeen, vacant by the death of Andrew de Syves.[CR, v, 766] In Mar 1436/37 John Homill, priest of the diocese of St Andrews, related that he had been presented by the abbey of Kelso to the perpetual vicarage of Duddingston on its voidance by William Leschman, but Andrew Hering had intruded and was still in possession and the Bishop of St Andrews had refused to institute him.[CPL, 1427-47, 618]

Robert Huchonson:

On 29 Nov 1486 the council consented to double the whole clerkship of the town to be given to Robert Huchonson for his service in the choir and on the organs until he be paid the sum of £20.[CR, vi, 981] On 5 May 1487 he was granted the mastership of the sang school for a fee of £20, with Richard Boyle as his deputy.[CR, vii, 14] He was still in receipt of the doubled clerkship in March 1487/88.[CR, vii, 53] On 6 June he appears as "dominus" Robert Huchonson, but this refers only to his mastership of the school.[CR, vii, 61] He was granted £5 of the common good and £5 of the clerkships until the council could provide him with a better income, together with a promise of a further 10 merks on the demise of "litill sir Andro".[CR, vii, 127] On 28 Nov 1492 he was conducted for life as a sangster.[CR, vii, 364] In Oct 1494 20 merks of the Nethermill were assigned to him for thirteen years as his fee.[CR, vii, 576] In a new indenture of 7 Oct 1496 this was increased to 24 merks. Huchonson bound himself to serve in the kirk for life as a singer and organist, teaching the bairns of the town to sing and to play upon the organs.[CR, vii, 771] His wife is mentioned in Jan 1497/98.[CR, vii, 854] He was still alive on 23 Mar 1498/99, and was deceased by 6 Apr 1506 when a payment was made to his widow for the redemption of the town's letters.[CR, vii, 854; viii, 570]

David Kennedy:

On 13 Dec 1448 the burgh granted Kennedy a booth under the tolbooth "fra hyme to quhissondai" free for his service in the kirk.[CR, v, 734]

Mr John Kennedy:

First appears as John Kennarte, 27 Oct 1540, and as a notary on 30 Oct.[Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 309, 310] Between 28 Aug 1541 and 15 Apr 1542 he graduated as a master, presumably of Aberdeen.[RMS, iii, 2447; CR, xviii, 162] On 31 Oct 1544 he was admitted to the place in the choir vacant by the death of sir David Lorimer "conforme to the electioun of the chaplanis of the said queir as use hes bene of sic places in tymes bygane".[CR, xviii, 291] On 15 Dec 1544 he occurs as "allegit segrestar".[CR, xviii, 328] He appears in the Mar service of St Andrew on 12 Jan 1544/5.[CR, xviii, 335] On 8 Aug

1550 he resigned his office of the bells and sacristanship in favour of Andrew Malison, on condition of his provision to the altar of St John Evangelist, promised to him before by the council.[CR, xx, 467] From 4 Mar 1551 he appears as depute common clerk of Aberdeen, which office he retained to his death, and as sheriff clerk from 29 Mar 1550.[SR, vii, 55, 18, 19] By 12 Oct 1558 he held the Matheson/Scherar service of St Peter.[SR, viii, 332] He was not promoted to the presbyterate, as on 29 Dec 1559, he is still described as a clerk of Aberdeen diocese.[Abdn. Chrs., 334] On 31 Mar 1563 he was presented by the principal of King's College for collation to the Magdalen chaplainry, vacant by the death of Mr Hector Myrtoun. He was collated on the 8 Apr and had sasine on 20 April.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 310-311] He appears as chief sacristan on 5 Oct 1565 and collector of the chaplains of St Nicholas' on 19 Aug 1575.[Abdn. Counc., i, 360; St Nich. Cart., ii, 378] On 26 Dec 1576 he was granted an annual pension of 5 merks in return for his resignation of title to the mastership of St Thomas' Hospital.[Abdn. Counc., ii, 28] From an uncertain date he held the parsonage of Tullynestle, and retained it until his death.[SR0, GD 225/30] He died between 3 Sept and 26 Nov 1589.[Abdn. Counc., ii, 65, 66]

#### Sir John Kid:

On 1 Aug 1483 the burgh granted the altar of St John Evangelist to sir John Stirling, vacant by the resignation of sir John Kid.[CR, vi, 798] Kid appears in pursuit of rents of the altar on 16 Dec 1484, but these were probably outstanding from the period of his own service.[CR, vi, 890] In 1487 and 1489 he appears as vicar pensioner of Durris.[SR, i, 110, 145]

#### John Kilstaris:

On 29 Mar 1546 the town granted licence to its servitor and singer, John Kilstaris, to pass "to ye college in auld abirdene to study and larning of lettres and ordinit him to have pament of his pentioun and fee of 40s zeirly as he had before". He was to keep service in the choir all Sundays and holy days.[CR, xix, 70] On 15 July 1546 he received three days meat for his service in the kirk.[CR, xix, 163] On 31 Jan 1546/47 his fee was given to John Leslie.[CR, xix, 285]

David Kintore:

Appears among the town's choristers in the Dean of Gild's accounts for 1548-1551 in receipt of an annual fee of £3 6s 8d.[MS Dean of Gild Account] He is probably to be identified with the David Kintore, brother of Gilbert Kintore, "strikin and strublitt be ane scholar, callit Skeyne, with ane tre" in the Grammar School riot of Jan 1549.[Abdn. Counc., i, 266]

Andrew Lamb:

On 3 May 1533 the burgh council granted six days meat in the week to Andrew Lamb for his daily service in the choir.[CR, xiv, 177]

Sir John Lamb:

Sir John Lamb appears as chaplain of St Peter on 5 Sept 1435.[CR, iv, 39]

Sir Thomas Lamington:

First appears 15 Apr 1504 as a chaplain.[CR, viii, 334] On 9 Sept 1505 the burgh granted him St Clement's Chapel, vacant since the death of sir Ingeram Bannerman.[CR, viii, 489] On 13 Mar 1509/10 he occurs as chaplain of the Simson service of St Leonard's altar, then in the patronage of Mr David Lawson and his spouse Katherine Simson.[SR, iii, 199] He still held this on 24 Oct 1522.[SR, iv, 105] In Apr 1521 his mother Elizabeth Dog resigned her land in the Netherkirkgate in his favour.[SR, iv, 58] He last appears on 27 Aug 1526 and was deceased by 7 Jan 1526/27.[CR, xii, 33, 94]

Sir David Leis:

First appears 22 July 1495 as a chaplain.[Marischal College MS 390/9/5] He appears as chaplain of the Menzies altar of St Sebastian from 6 June 1500 to 5 Oct 1517, presumably as successor to sir Robert Leis.[SR, i, 906] He is described as a clerk on 4 Oct 1503, but as a priest on 17 Aug 1514.[Abdn. Ct. Bk., i, 70; SR, iii, 405] He appears at Huntly on 13 Oct 1519.[RMS, iii, 215] In Oct 1513 there is a reference to his custom books, and in 1521 he appears to be described as a notary.[CR, ix, 278; xi, 21] On 17 Feb 1521 he was constituted one of the town's commissaries to pass to the lord



governor in Edinburgh, bearing the burgh's common seal.[CR, xi, 38] He was still alive on 5 July 1529, but ailing - "he was vesiit with the hand of god".[CR, xii, 619]

#### Sir Robert Leis:

First appears as a determinant of St Andrews in 1443-4.[St A. Acta, 59] On 6 Oct 1449 he was proctor of Mr John Smalee, chaplain of the Rood in the parish church of Aberdeen.[CR, v, 59] On 10 Mar 1451/52 he occurs as a notary. His attestation of 4 July 1464 describes him as a priest of Aberdeen diocese, and a notary of imperial authority.[Aberdeen University MSS M 390/12/48, M390/16/9] In 1454 he was received as a burgess "ratione paternitatis".[CR, v, 785] From 14 June 1477 he appears as chaplain of the altar of St Sebastian, the Menzies chantry, and still held this in 1492.[CR, vi, 488; vii, 330-2] On 13 June 1481 the council granted him its service of St Ninian "quhilk sir Patrick Tulloch has had be certane yers bigane gif it beis fundyn wakand ande gif it be not fund waikand the said Schir Patrick to remaine with the said service".[CR, vi, 690] Leis appears as chaplain of the altar on 17 Oct 1481 in dispute over the division of oblations with sir Alexander Vocat, another chaplain of St Ninian.[CR, vi, 695] Tulloch retained some right to the altar until 26 June 1482 when the council declared it vacant in his failure to make service and continual residence, and it was granted for life to Leis.[CR, vi, 741] By the town's grant of 9 Aug 1490 it was arranged that the patronage of the altar should pass to William Meldrum of Fyvie on Leis' death.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 338] He is listed as one of the members of the college in 1491.[St Nich. Cart., i, 257] He last appears on 9 Nov 1495, and was deceased on 12 Mar 1496/97 when Meldrum presented Mr Alexander Gordon to St Ninian's altar.[CR, vii, 686; SR, i, 663]

#### Sir John Leith:

First appears with sir Andrew Wricht on 9 Jan 1468/69 as chaplain and proctor of William Leith of Barns.[CR, vi, 78] He appears as chaplain of SS Lawrence & Ninian on 1 Apr 1494 when he conducted sir John Litstar as his deputy.[SR, i, 414] He still held the altarage on 5 Aug 1510.[SR, iii, 233] This was evidently the Leith foundation, as, on 21 Oct 1495, Robert Blindsel endowed the altar,

and sir John, with a rent for the soul of Henry Leith of Barns.[St Nich. Cart., i, 221] He frequently appears at Dunottar in association with the Earl Marischal and sir Robert Martin.[RMS, ii, 3710] On 3 Nov 1519 he appears as vicar of Dunottar and proctor of the Earl.[SR, iv, 43] He is possibly to be identified with the rector of Philorth of 1526 who in 23 Mar 1532/3 resigned a 40 merk pension to Mr David Mackison for his work in Rome anent the rectory of Strabrock.[Abdn. Reg., ii, 254; SR, iv, 166]

Sir William Leith:

First appears on 1 Apr 1429 as chaplain of the Holy Rood.[Aberdeen University MS M390/11/43] He still held this on 16 Apr 1436.[CR, iv, 63] He appears as chaplain of St James on 11 Jan 1433/34 and 16 Apr 1436.[CR, iv, 1, 62] He was still alive on 4 Feb 1438/39. The date of 14 Sept 1438 given in his obit is probably the date of its foundation. His anniversary was to be celebrated by twelve chaplains at the altar of St Leonard. From this it may be supposed that he had also served that altar.[St Nich. Cart., i, 115, 214]

Sir Alexander Leslie:

First appears on 12 June 1520 as Sandy Leslie, singer of the choir. He was assigned the Castlegate clerkship for his service, paying 40s to David Lorimer until Lorimer could be given a better pension.[CR, x, 197] Two merks of this were remitted to Leslie in Mar 1521 when that part of Lorimer's pension was transferred to the Green clerkship.[CR, xi, 60] On 5 Nov 1529 he appears as sir Alexander Leslie, to whom the burgh granted their service of St John Baptist, resigned in their hands by Mr Gavin Leslie. He was to keep daily service in the choir at matins, high mass and evensong "as ye laif of the brethren of thar kyrk hawand altaragis of them".[CR, xii, 718] He still held the service on 27 Mar 1542.[St Nich. Cart., i, 246] Between 2 June 1546 and 10 Dec 1552 he appears as chaplain of St Michael.[SR, viii, 52, 228] He last appears on 1 Mar 1558/59.[St Nich. Cart., i, 276]

Mr Andrew Leslie:

Son of George Leslie of Erlisfield, in 1547 Leslie described himself as a priest of the diocese of Aberdeen.[Abdn. Ct. Bk., i, 466-7] A

Mr Andrew Leslie appears in various locations in the Garioch and Mar between 3 Nov 1527 and 8 Oct 1538.[Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 68, 111, 143, 273] On 12 Feb 1538 the burgh council of Aberdeen ordained that the provost should travel to Edinburgh to protest against the summons raised by Mr Andrew Leslie against the burgh in the affair of Friar Keillour.[CR, xvi, 149] Leslie appears at Daviot on 12 Feb 1548, and as vicar pensioner of the same on 23 Apr 1550 when he resigned his parish clerkship to John Leslie, a student in Aberdeen.[Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 414, 429, 430] In 1549 he held the chaplainry of Rothes Castle.[Aberdeen University MS 3043] On 1 Mar 1558/59 he appears as a notary, and on 2 July 1559 as secretary of the Bishop of Aberdeen, and a clerk of the same diocese.[St Nich. Cart., i, 276; Marischal College MS 3043] He held a series of canonries in the cathedral. Between 18 Apr 1548 and 1 Apr 1565 he occurs as canon of Aberdeen and prebendary of Ellon.[Aberdeen University MS 3043] On the latter date John Leslie of Balquhain granted him the service of the Three Kings when it should fall vacant by the death or dimission of Mr John Nicholson.[Aberdeen University MS 3043] Between 11 Jan 1565/66 and 20 Apr 1566 he appears as rector of Drumoak, between 21 Jan 1566/67 and 16 Oct 1567 the parson of Fetternear and on 1 Nov 1570 as prebendary of Oyne.[Aberdeen University MS 3043; Abdn.Fasti, 129] On 9 Dec 1560 and at his death on 7 Apr 1571 he was also sheriff clerk of Aberdeen.[Abdn. Ct. Bk., i, 466-7; Spalding Misc., ii, 37]

#### Mr Gavin Leslie:

First appears 12 Jan 1505/6 when the council ordained "for the cessing of pley and unite and concord to be hede continewit betwix the frends and kynnesman of Gilbert Menzeis alderman one that ane part ande Johne Leslie of Wardis his friends and kynnismen on that uther part grauntit and consentit that master Gavane Leslie cosin to the saide Johne of Leslie sale have the first chaplanrie vacant being at thar disposicoun becaus the frends of the said master consentit to the gift of Sanct Peteris chaplanry to master David Menzeis".[CR, viii, 538] On 25 Sept 1508 the burgh duly presented him to their chaplainry of St John Baptist, vacant by the death of Mr William Strachan, although he had to accept a 6 merk pension to his proctor Mr Thomas Chalmer and his successor chaplains at the altar of the

Blessed Virgin to celebrate a sung mass every Sunday.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 347; CR, viii, 872; SR, iii, 79] Following collation by Bishop William, Leslie was given institution of the altar on 6 Oct by the curate, and on 22 Dec 1508 constituted Chalmer his proctor to receive its rents.[SR, iii, 84; CR, viii, 910] On 5 Nov 1529 he resigned the chaplainry in favour of sir Alexander Leslie, to whom the burgh then granted it.[CR, xii, 118] Mr Thomas Chalmer may have acted as his substitute at the altar. Leslie appears as the chaplain of Leslie of Balquhain's service of the Three Kings between 18 Aug 1519 and 10 June 1521.[SR, iv, 40, 85] This service was also probably served by a deputy, as sir William Philipson appears as chaplain of the altar between 1519/20 and 1528/29.[SR, iv, 157; CR, xii, 498] In 1519 Leslie held a canonry of Moray, probably Kingussie, of which he appears as prebendary between 8 Oct 1526 and 3 Jan 1539/40.[SR, iv, 40; Moray Reg., 372, 420] On 14 Aug 1538 he occurs as commissary general of Moray.[Moray Reg., 402] He is said to have been official of Moray, probably during the 1530s.[Watt, Fasti, 244] He was still alive on 24 Nov 1547 when he appears as rector of an unnamed church, presumably Kingussie.[SR, viii, 103]

#### John Leslie:

On 4 Oct 1538 the burgh assigned 40s to buy clothes for John Leslie, son of the late Patrick Leslie, for his service as a singer in the choir.[CR, xvi, 11] On 27 Nov 1540 he was in receipt of his diet among the burgesses of the town.[CR, xvi, 661] The late sir David Lorimer's clerkship was granted to him on 14 Jan 1546/7 with an additional 40s.[CR, xix, 285] He is likely to be identifiable with the reader of the common prayers of 2 July 1563, on which date he was granted a stipend of £10 in augmentation of that given by the controller for his past service of Whitsun term 1563.[Abdn. Counc., i, 356] On 26 April 1566 this was increased to £20.[Abdn. Counc., i, 362]

#### William Leslie:

On 25 June 1515 Willy Leslie, son of Norman Leslie, was granted the clerkship of the Castlegate, resigned by John Cuning.[CR, ix, 462]

David Lichton:

On 13 Dec 1448 the council ordained that David Lichton should have his 18 merk fee, "sua that he cum ilke halidai to the howris and ilke day to the lady mess under the payne of 4d for ilke howr".[CR, v, 734] In 1453 he received a fee of £12.[Spalding Misc., v, 50]

Sir David Liell:

David Liell first appears 3 Oct 1496, and thereafter frequently occurs in association with his cousin, sir John Stirling.[CR, vii, 757] On 4 Mar 1502/3 the council ordained Stirling, Liell and other of Stirling's deputies and subscribes, to be clerks of the burgh for life, as deputies to Gilbert Menzies, the town clerk.[CR, viii, 194] On 27 May 1503 he is described as "clericus", on 8 Jan 1503/4 as "sir", in April as a chaplain and on 6 Aug 1504 as "presbyter" .[SR, ii, 84, 164; CR, viii, 302, 334] At the request of sir John Stirling on 12 Jan 1505/6 the burgh assigned Liell 2 merks of the common good until he could be promoted to a better living.[CR, viii, 538] In 1506, and probably considerably earlier, he was a notary public.[RMS, ii, 2993] On 3 July 1508 he appears as chaplain of St Eloy, a service in the patronage of the burgh, although maintained by the Hammermen.[CR, viii, 845] On 27 Jan 1510/11 he was instituted in a service at the altar of SS Lawrence & Ninian, which is later shown to have been the burgh service.[SR, iii, 324; iv, 20] He retained both of these services until his death. In 1525 he was named by Sir William Coupar as a former chaplain of St Katherine's Chapel, presumably in succession to Stirling, who is last known to have held this in 1502.[CR, xi, 571] He last appears on 4 Aug 1518, and had died by 3 Sept when Sir John Mar was presented and inducted to the services of St Eloy and SS Lawrence and Ninian of which Liell was described as the late chaplain.[SR, iv, 17, 20]

Sir John Litstar:

A John Litstar "de Abordonia in Scotia" appears as a student at Köln in 1475, but is perhaps to be identified with the Observantine vicar provincial of this name.[Köln, 347,136; Durkan, Innes Review, (1984), 54] Brother of John Litstar, burgess of Aberdeen, sir John Litstar appears as chaplain on 16 Aug 1488 and as "presbyter" on 11 Sept 1490.[SR, ii, 406; i, 122, 206] He was listed as a member of the

college in 1491.[St Nich. Cart., i, 258] On 25 Jan 1495/6 he was granted the Cordiners' chaplainry of SS Crispin and Crispinian, to which he was inducted on 16 Feb.[SR, i, 617, 623] He still held this on 5 Apr 1512.[SR, iii, 370] From 1 Apr 1494 he served as deputy for sir John Leith in his service at the altar of SS Lawrence & Ninian.[CR, i, 414, 690] In Apr 1504 he appeared as proctor of the vicars and chaplains of the choir of the cathedral, in which, on 7 May 1506, he is listed as the stallar of Monimusk and the chaplain of Fyvie.[CR, viii, 333; Abdn. Reg., ii, 97] On 5 Apr 1512 Litstar founded a weekly Mass of the Five Wounds at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary, ten private masses on his anniversary, and a weekly Mass of the Blessed Virgin at the altar of St Barbara.[St Nich. Cart., i, 128] He died between 24 Apr 1514 and 8 Jan 1514/15.[CR, ix, 333, 382]

Sir David Lorimer:

Evidently a native of the burgh, on 15 Feb 1534/5 Lorimer was served as heir to his father, William Lorimer.[CR, xiv, 516] He first appears 10 Dec 1518 as David Lorimer, a singer of the choir, owed 40s by the burgh for two years past service.[CR, x, 25] At this time or shortly afterwards he took orders, and thereafter bore the title "dominus".[SR, iv, 26, 65; CR, x, 197, 364] On 17 Apr 1523 the burgh assigned him an additional £5 together with his 40s of the common good "quhill thar be sum uthir thing wakand that thai may provid him better".[CR, xi, 276] On 31 Oct 1523 he appears as a notary public.[CR, xi, 367] On 16 Apr 1526 the burgh increased his annual fee to £10.[CR, xi, 704] Following the resignation of sir William Coupar, on 9 April 1529 Lorimer was granted the office of principal sacristan, which he retained until at least 18 Mar 1537/8, and probably until his death.[CR, xii, 545; xiv, 553; xv, 411, 580] On 26 Nov 1532, and possibly as early as 5 Nov 1530, he held the service of St Eloy, in the care of the Hammermen but the patronage of the council.[CR, xiii, 36; xiv, 50] This he retained until at least 2 May 1541.[CR, xvi, 781] He died between 29 July and 31 Oct 1544 when the council granted the place in their choir vacant by his death to Mr John Kennedy.[CR, xviii, 222, 291] His clerkship, however, was only granted to John Leslie two years later.[CR, xix, 277]

Duncan Lorimer:

On 3 Feb 1538/39 Lorimer received a fee of 2 merks as a singer.[CR, xvi, 138] This was renewed on 8 Mar 1539/40.[CR, xvi, 483] On 9 Mar 1544/45 he received the 40s held before by Robert Porter.[CR, xviii, 409]

---- Lumsden:

By the agreement of 13 July 1546 John Black, depute master of the sang school, was to have power of correction over a number of the bairns of the sang school, one of whom was a Lumsden.[Abdn. Counc., i, 239]

Sir Andrew Macbeth:

First appears 9 Oct 1489 as chaplain of the altar of St Ninian, and successor of the late sir Alexander Vocat.[CR, vii, 145] He still served this on 8 Apr 1494.[SR, i, 412] He was active and in Aberdeen 1 June 1509.[SR, iii, 127]

Mr David Mackison:

Sir David Makeson first appears on 31 Jan 1516/17 as scribe of the commissary court of Aberdeen and a notary public.[CR, xi, 543] He was still active as common scribe of the consistory 23 Mar 1525/6, by which time he had graduated, presumably at the university of Aberdeen.[CR, xiii, 220] In 1529 he was described as a priest of the diocese of Dunkeld.[Abdn. Fasti, 106] On 10 Dec 1531 he appears as chaplain of the altar of the Holy Blood, a service in the patronage of the Cullens, and which he held until some time between 30 June 1536 and 13 Dec 1537 by which date he had been succeeded by Mr Robert Mackison.[CR, xiii, 309; xv, 528] On 23 Mar 1532/33 he appears holding an unnamed chaplainry in St Machar's cathedral, and the recipient of a 40 merk pension resigned by sir John Leith, rector of Philorth, for his labours in the cause of the rectory of Strathbrock in the Roman Curia. Mackison appears to have undertaken to resign both chaplainries.[SR, iv, 166] On 2 Nov 1538 he occurs as vicar of Peterugie, a benefice in the patronage of the Abbey of Deer.[Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 275] On 8 Sept 1543 he held the vicarage of Alves, and in 1547 the chaplainry of Cowie.[RMS, iii, 2973; RSS, iii, 2126]

Mr Robert Mackison:

First appears on 22 Apr 1532 as Robert Makeson, scribe of the consistory court of Aberdeen.[Aberdeen University MS M 390/13/14] On 15 Feb 1533/4 as Mr Robert he appears in Aberdeen with Mr David Mackison, and five days later, as a notary, in Edinburgh.[RMS, iii, 1390, 1366] On 11 Jan 1537/8 he presented King's letters issued at Edinburgh on 13 Dec 1537, requiring the town to defend him in his possession of the patrimony of the chaplainry of the Holy Blood (Cullen), as possessed by his predecessors Mr John Marschell and Mr David Mackison.[CR, xv, 528-9] This he still held on 9 Apr 1546.[CR, xix, 80] The 1549 visitation of King's College named him as one of three students of law who had failed to make residence, to celebrate divine service in the places set out by their foundations, or to apply themselves to their studies.[Abdn.Fasti, 264]

Andrew Malison

On 8 Aug 1550 Mr John Kennedy resigned his offices of sacristan and of the town's bells in favour of Andrew Malison, son of the burgess Gilbert Malison.[CR, xx, 457] On 26 May 1551 Mr Edward Menzies resigned his altarage of St Katherine to his patron, Thomas Chalmer, who then regranted him possession and custody of the service on behalf of Malison, who was described as a clerk. Menzies was to retain the endowments of the altar.[SR, viii, 193]

Sir John Mar:

On 13 Apr 1501 the burgh granted to John Mar, the son of Alexander of Mar and a brother of a baillie, John Mar, that clerkship vacant by the dimission of William Young.[CR, vii, 1073] Two years later, on 21 July 1503, the council licenced him as one of the clerks of the choir "to pass to the scule till his instructioun", and received Cristy Nairn as his deputy.[CR, viii, 240] In the September immediately following, Nairn himself passed from the sang to the grammar school, and Mar's father and brother supplied a second substitute, Thomas Chalmer, who was to have half of the profits of the clerkship.[CR, viii, 256] A third deputy, Watte Strachan, was conducted in 11 Oct 1505 to serve Mar's clerkship, which is on this occasion identified as that of the Castlegate quarter.[CR, viii, 509] He next appears, on 3 Sept 1518, as sir John Mar, a chaplain, on his



induction by the community of the burgh, into possession of the chaplainry of St Eloy.[SR, iv, 20] On 15 September the master of kirk work presented Mar to the chapter of Aberdeen cathedral for collation to the burgh's chaplainry of SS Lawrence and Ninian. Both of these presentations were to services vacant by the demise of sir David Liell.[SR, iv, 21] Mar was still alive and active as a member of the college of St Nicholas on 14 July 1519.[St Nich. Cart., i, 263]

Mr John Marschell:

First appears 23 Apr 1505 as a notary.[SR, ii, 224] His notarial attestation of 9 Mar 1519/20 describes him as a clerk of the diocese of Moray.[Aberdeen University MS M 390/9/17] From 5 Oct 1506 he occurs as chaplain of the Fyvie foundation at the altar of St Ninian.[CR, viii, 611] Following the death of Mr William Strachan, the council of Aberdeen on 28 June 1509 presented him to the mastership of the grammar school of the burgh, and on the same day he was given possession by the provost.[CR, viii, 971; SR, iii, 143] He later came into conflict with his patrons. On 13 Jan 1521/22 he admitted that he held the grammar school by the gift of the burgh council, and he reversed his compulsator of Rome.[CR, xi, 12] Nevertheless the controversy continued. On 20 Apr 1523 he protested that the town "suld not be displassit at him nor tak his contrer part for he offerit him rady to do tham steid and service at his power and protestit that thai suld mak him na now nowatioun bot keip auld ws and wont".[CR, xi, 281] On 27 Nov 1523 he admitted to the council that "he had offendit to his masteris of the towne and besoucht tham to perdone him and confessit that he haid the schoull of thame and suld hald the samyn lik as his predicessouris haid doune in tyme bigane and the provest in nayme of the toune ressavit him thankfully promittand to be him a gud master in tyme cuming he being tham a gud servand as accords him to do".[CR, xi, 378] Reconciled with the burgh, he retained the grammar school until his death. On 20 Feb 1520/21 he appears serving the Cullen service of the Holy Blood.[SR, iv, 75] He last appears on 24 Nov 1525 and had died by 7 Jan 1526/27 when, described brother of Adam Marschell, he was found to have died infest in a land in the Green.[CR, xi, 652; xii, 95] This

may be the Mr Adam Marschell, laird of Auchterellon, with whom Mr John appeared on 9 Mar 1519.[SR, iv, 55]

Sir Robert Martin:

First appears 14 Sept 1484 as a priest presented by the convent of Arbroath to the Archbishop of St Andrews for collation to the vicarage of Garvock, Kincardine.[Arbroath Liber, ii, 211] On 28 Oct 1502 the abbot of Arbroath made a provisional presentation of Mr Walter Stratoun, rector of Dunottar, to the vicarage of Garvock, but the proposed exchange of benefices did not take place.[Arbroath Liber, ii, 343] He frequently appears in association with William, Earl Marischal, of whom he is described on 12 May 1504 as seneschal and chamberlain.[SR, ii, 137] On 15 Dec 1508 the provost of Aberdeen gave him possession of the town's altar of St John Evangelist in the name of sir John Stirling's son, until the latter came of age.[SR, iii, 26] He was still in possession of this 19 Apr 1512 when Stirling, elder, was given an expectative regrant of the altar when it should fall vacant by sir Robert.[CR, ix, 96] On 22 Aug 1510 he appears as rector of Catterline.[Aberdeen University MS M 390/1/16] He retained the vicarage of Garvock until his death between 19 Apr and 19 Aug 1512, on which date sir John Stirling was given possession of the altar of St John Evangelist.[CR, ix, 96; SR, iii, 397] On 9 Nov 1512 sir Dionysius Auchinleck was presented to the vicarage vacant by his death.[Arbroath Liber, ii, 419]

Mr Robert Mason:

Among the determinants of the faculty of arts of St Andrews of the year 1479-80, and licentiates of 1481, appears sir Robert Mason, "pauper".[St A. Acta, 207, 212] Mr Robert Mason first appears in Aberdeen on 12 Dec 1505.[CR, viii, 528] He was presented to the altar of SS Thomas Apostle and George Martyr, probably on the death of sir John Prat in 1512. He was in possession of the altar on 10 Jan 1512/13, and still held it on 30 Aug 1520.[SR, iv, 66; CR, x, 226] He is last recorded as alive on 28 Nov 1523.[SR, iv, 121] An entry of 18 Mar 1523/24 notes his obit to be celebrated on that day, founded on a rent of 16s bought by his executor George Bisset.[St Nich. Cart., i, 242]

Mr William Meldrum:

A number of clerics of this name occur in the sixteenth century, and there is some difficulty in identifying each. The chaplain of St Nicholas' is evidently an individual distinct from the Archdeacon of Dunkeld who appears 8 Jan 1518/19 in association with Mr Thomas Meldrum of Seggie.[RMS, iii, 1496] On 2 Oct 1511 a Mr William Meldrum, parish clerk of Fyvie, was a witness at Pitcarry, and is probably to be identified with the man who appears on 31 Oct 1512 appears in Aberdeen in association with George Meldrum of Fyvie.[A. B. Ill., i, 334; SR, iii, 160] On 30 Aug 1521 a Mr William Meldrum appears in the burgh, and on 7 Jan 1526/27 as chaplain of the altar of St Ninian founded by his late forebear, the laird of Fyvie.[SR, iv, 9; CR, xii, 95] He occurs as a notary on 8 June 1523.[SR, iv, 117] He was still active as a chaplain of the choir on 27 May 1536.[St Nich. Cart., i, 174] Between 26 Apr 1542 and 7 Sept 1551 he was in possession of the vicarage of Peterculter.[SR, viii, 271; Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 459] A legitimation was issued under the Privy Seal on 14 June 1552 in favour of William and Alexander Meldrum, sons of Mr William Meldrum, vicar of Peterculter, and a second on 25 June 1554 in favour of sir William Meldrum, chaplain, son of the late Mr William Meldrum, chaplain in Aberdeen.[RSS, iv, 1629, 2759]

Mr David Menzies:

Sir David Menzies first appears as a batchelor of the University of Paris of 1484, as a licentiate of 1486 and an incipient of 1487.[Paris Uni. Auctarium, iii, 542,27 n.10; 605, 10, 13; vi, 600,29, n.18; 628,7] Although described in the Paris records as of St Andrews diocese, in Dec 1504 he was described by the council of Aberdeen as "thair traist clerk and nychtbour sone".[CR, viii, 405] On 28 May 1491 Mr William Colison was admitted to the service of St Ninian by its patron Alexander Irvine of Drum "usque in adventum dicti Magistri David".[SR, i, 226] On 4 Apr 1502 his proctor sir Andrew Colison appears in pursuit of rents due to Menzies' altar of St Eloy, which Menzies still held in Oct 1505.[CR, viii, 90, 504] On 23 Dec 1503 the burgh council presented Menzies to the chaplainry of St Duthac, which, as a consequence of his promotion by the town to the chaplainry of St Peter, he resigned in favour of his cousin, Davy

Waus, on 16 Jan 1505/6. The town's service of St Peter had been the subject of competition between the friends and kin of the alderman, Gilbert Menzies, on the behalf of Mr David, and the friends and kin of John Leslie of Wardis on behalf of Mr Gavin Leslie. At the same time Menzies resigned a burgh pension of 2 merks of Hazelhead in favour of sir David Liell until he should be promoted to a better living.[CR, viii, 405, 538] He retained St Peter's until his death. He was closely associated with the early university of Aberdeen and probably as a consequence of this was instituted in the cathedral chantry of St Katherine on 17 Feb 1504/5.[CR, ii, 208] On 1 Oct 1506 Mr Arthur Boece resigned in his favour the chaplainry of St Mary Magdalen, a burse in civil law.[Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 322] Following Bishop Elphinstone's request, on 1 Oct 1509 the council licenced Menzies, as their chaplain of St Peter, to have freedom of movement, presumably in the performance of the Bishop's affairs.[CR, viii, 1012] On 19 Aug 1512 he was presented and inducted to the second service of St Peter by Alexander Blinsel, a chantry which by 1519/20 had passed to the gift of Gilbert Menzies.[SR, iii, 397] He still held this on 8 Apr 1521.[CR, x, 292] Between 28 Apr 1511 and 4 Oct 1518 he is found serving the Fechat chantry of St Michael.[CR, viii, 1179; x, 2] In Apr 1513 he was found to be one of the legitimate and nearest heirs of his late uncle, Matthew Fechat.[CR, ix, 205] He appears as a batchelor in sacred letters from 3 Oct 1513.[CR, ix, 264] In Aug 1514 he is described as a priest.[SR, iii, 405] He was a notary in Jan 1516/17, and probably earlier, serving between 1514 and 1518 as the commissary of Bishop Alexander Gordon.[St Nich. Cart., i, 260; CR, ix, 653] On 24 Dec 1520 he gave £21 to his fellow chaplains of St Nicholas' towards the construction of a common dwelling place in the Shiprow. In return for this a weekly Mass of the Blessed Virgin was to celebrated at the altar of Our Lady of Piety for himself, Gilbert Menzies the provost, and Marjory Chalmer.[St Nich. Cart., i, 131] In 1528 he donated a further £20 to the building and for an obit at the altar.[St Nich. Cart., i, 169] He was in Aberdeen on 16 Jan 1526/27, but on 21 Feb 1526/27, "David Menzes de Abordonia sub episcopo Aberdonensi" is recorded at the university of Louvain.[SR, iv, 139; Louvain, ii, 772/148] He died between 21 July 1528 and 9 Apr 1529.[St Nich. Cart., i, 169; CR, xii, 545] Boece described him as "at once an

ardent student of holy writ and a powerful preacher. In him was seen not so much profound learning as virtue and lofty moral character".[Boece, Vitae, 92] According to Dempster, Menzies wrote "Doctissime et eloquentissime comcioes sacras".[Boece, Vitae, 161]

Mr Edward Menzies:

First appears 10 Jan 1535/36, and as a notary 30 Jan 1538.[CR, xv, 72; RMS, iii, 1918] On 24 July 1542 he is described as a priest.[SR, viii, 274] On 11 June 1543 the burgh granted him its chaplainry of the Holy Rood in the organ loft, vacant by the demise of sir John Fife.[Abdn. Counc., i, 189] He occurs as chaplain of St Peter on 11 Mar 1543/4.[CR, xviii, 116] He held the chaplainry of St Leonard from 1546 to 1565.[CR, xix, 260] On 3 Jan 1548 sir John Colison, newly presented to St Andrew by the patron, Alexander Rutherfurd, on the death of Mr Robert Menzies, was obliged to pay Mr Edward 40s until the patron and his friends should provide him to a chaplainry of greater value.[SR, viii, 122] On 26 May 1551 he resigned the chaplainry of St Katherine to the patron, Thomas Chalmer, who then presented the youth, Andrew Malison. Menzies was retained, however, to serve the altar on Malison's behalf.[SR, viii, 193] He still served the altar of St Katherine on 12 Apr 1554.[SR, viii, 246] He may have served that of the Three Kings in 1562, as on 10 July as chaplain of the Mar service of St Andrew he proved himself to be lawfully infeft in a rent of 10s pertaining to the Three Kings in the Gallowgate.[Abdn. Counc., i, 345] Of the otherwise unknown altar of St Margaret he appears as chaplain on 12 Mar 1562/3.[Abdn. Counc., i, 254] He conformed to the new church and appears as reader of Nigg in 1574.[Haws, Parish Clergy, 191] He remained a chaplain of the choir of St Nicholas, acting as collector in Aug 1577.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 379] He had an illegitimate son whom he apprenticed to a baker after the Reformation.[A. White, Thesis, 143; CR, xxvii, 357] He was still alive on 30 Apr 1578 and is said to have died 25 Feb 1578/79.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 286; Spalding Misc., ii, 47]

Mr James Menzies:

In Aug 1530 he was described as the son of Gilbert Menzies, provost of Aberdeen, and of Mariota Chalmer.[Marischal College MS 390/10/8]

On 28 May 1520 James Menzies was given possession of the vicarage of Logie-Durno by virtue of an apostolic bull.[SR, iv, 65] On 19 Sept of the same year as perpetual commendator of the vicarage, the "ingeniosus adolescens", James Menzies constituted proctors to publish his appeal anent a pension of 20 merks of the vicarage to Mr Henry Quhit, canon of Dunblane.[SR, iv, 62, 67, 68] He first appears as a Master on 16 Feb 1523/24.[SR, iv, 123] He still held Logie on 27 July 1525.[SR, iv, 128] From 1529 until 26 Feb 1541/2 he appears as rector of Dunottar. On 28 Apr 1539 the town assigned him its altar of St Peter, on condition that he refund £10 for the maintenance of a singer making daily service in the choir.[SR, iv, 269; CR, xvi, 229] His proctor, Mr Robert Menzies, was given sasine of the altar on 30 Apr.[SR, iv, 234] He occurs as a canon of Aberdeen on 20 Aug 1541, and as rector of Philorth on 27 Jan 1541/42.[SR, iv, 262, 268] He was still alive on 24 July 1542.[SR, iv, 274]

Mr Robert Menzies:

Robert Menzies, "pauper" appears among the determinants of the faculty of arts of St Andrews of 1514-1515 and licentiates of 23 May 1516.[St A. Acta, 312, 318] On 8 May 1520 a Mr Robert Menzies was created notary public by Mr Michael Walker, commissary apostolic.[SR, iv, 61] Another, or possibly the same, Mr Robert Menzies was created notary on 16 July 1527 by Mr John Galloway.[SR, iv, 142] In 1524 a Mr Robert Menzies was elected as one of four deputies in the university of Glasgow.[Glasgow Univ. Munimenta, ii, 149] As chamberlain of Archbishop Gavin Dunbar, elect of Glasgow, he was incorporated the same year and in 1525 and 1526 was elected proctor of the nation of Teviotdale.[Glasgow Univ. Munimenta, ii, 150, 151] As Dunbar's chamberlain on 26 Oct 1528 he was again elected a deputy.[Glasgow Univ. Munimenta, ii, 154] Whether this is the Aberdeen individual is uncertain, but Dunbar's namesake bishop of Aberdeen is a possible connection. From 12 Aug 1530 he appears frequently in Aberdeen record. He was in possession of the Simson service of St Leonard between 1527/28 and 8 Oct 1546.[CR, xii, 867; CR, xix, 228] The Glasgow connection may be explained by the appearance in Aberdeen of Mr Robert Menzies, vicar of Mortoun, on 9 Dec 1531 in association with Gilbert Menzies of Findoun and Thomas

Menzies of Pitfoddels.[RMS, ii, 1101] On 18 Apr 1534 he was presented by Thomas Chalmer, the patron, to the service of St Andrew, which he still held at his death in 1548.[SR, iv, 177; viii, 122] He was deceased by 3 Jan 1548/49, and was succeeded as chaplain of St Andrew's altar by sir John Colison, by the presentation of Alexander Rutherfurd.[SR, viii, 122]

Sir David Middleton:

Sir David Medyltoun first appears on 24 Dec 1520 as a chaplain of the college. On 30 Mar 1521, following the dimission of sir John Murray, he was given sasine by the Hammermen of the chaplainry of St Eloy. This was then ratified by the burgh council.[SR, iv, 80]

Mr Hector Mirtoun:

Mr Hector Myrtoun first appears on 10 July 1518 when he was collated by the dean and chapter of the cathedral and the principal of King's College to the Magdalen altar, then vacant by the resignation of Mr Thomas Clerk.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 309] On 4 Oct 1529 he appears as a notary.[CR, xii, 687] In the 1549 visitation of King's College he is named as one of three law students who failed to make residence or celebrate divine service in the places set out in their foundations. The house of his chaplainry was also said to be in poor condition. He and the others were formally warned to observe their foundations under pain of suspension from divine service.[Abdn. Fasti, 271] He appears as vicar of Premnay on 22 Feb 1550 and 23 Sept 1557.[SR, viii, 183, 323] He was still alive and in Aberdeen in 1559 when he appears in pursuit of a rent owed to his chaplainry.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 372] On 31 Mar 1563 he was evidently recently deceased, the college then presenting his successor, Mr John Kennedy, for collation.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 310]

Sir John Modan:

First appears in 1442 when the burgh ordained that he should serve the altar of St Duthac until the following Pentecost, which suggests that the service was filled by an annually hired chaplain.[CR, v, 662] On 18 Sept 1470 John Matheson gave him possession of the newly founded altar of St Christopher. He still held this in Dec 1471.[St Nich. Cart., i, 48, 58]

Sir William Morison:

Sir William Morison first appears 23 Apr 1487, and as a chaplain of the choir in Nov 1488.[CR, vii, 12; St Nich. Cart., i, 72] In 1490 he and sir John Stirling were received as burgesses.[CR, vii, 221] His association with the Waus family first appears in Apr 1491, when he was constituted proctor by Gilbert Waus of Many.[CR, vii, 254] He was listed as a chaplain of the college in 1491.[St Nich. Cart., i, 257] He first appears as curate of Aberdeen on 9 Mar 1491/92, doubtless as successor to sir David Waus (I), and he retained the cure until his death.[SR, i, 247] On 3 Nov 1494 he appears as a notary.[CR, vii, 584] On 5 Jun 1508 he resigned his land in Futy to his nephew Thomas Umfray, reserving a rent of 20s to the chaplains of the choir for his anniversary.[SR, iii, 48] He died between 19 Sept 1509 and 21 Nov 1509, on which latter date, following the donation of Gilbert Waus of Many, sir John Waus was invested in the altars of St Martin and St Katherine, then vacant by his death.[SR, iii, 175, 187]

Mr Hugh Munro:

On 13 Jan 1538 four candidates for the office of master of the grammar school of Aberdeen agreed to abide by the decision of judges appointed to determine the best qualified.[CR, xvi, 108] Following his election by the majority of the council, on 17 Jan Munro passed to the chancellor of Aberdeen for collation in accordance with a request under the royal signet.[CR, xvi, 112] On 14 July 1544 he appears as master of the grammar school with a pension of 10 merks of the common good. He was charged "to be diligent in teaching barnis of ye scuill bayt in sciens, maners, and writings and sic uder verteus".[CR, xviii, 213] On 4 Nov 1549 he was licenced to move to a former lodging to be enclosed there with his wife, servants and children. He was to remain there for a period of eight days additional to the period of quarantine already undergone. His "guid modir" was named as Jonet Annan.[Abdn. Counc., i, 275] On 14 Apr 1550 he resigned his office of master of the grammar school.[Abdn. Counc., i, 276]

Sir John Murray:

On 7 June 1507, Thomas Chalmer, one of the town's quarter clerks, was licenced to pass to the schools and to serve in the kirk only on



Sundays and feast days. Jock of Murray was received as his substitute to serve all ferial days for half of the clerkship.[CR, viii, 702] On Chalmer's resignation of the Guestrow on 2 May 1511, the clerkship was divided equally between Murray and John Buchan.[CR, viii, 1181] On 12 Jan 1514/15 he appears as sir John Murray, sangster. He was hired, on a contract to be renewed yearly, to serve in the choir for a total of £9 6s 8d.[CR, ix, 389] On 25 June 1515 his fee was augmented with the clerkship of Futy until the town could provide either a greater fee or a chaplainry.[CR, ix, 462] He appears as collector of the college in Oct 1515.[CR, ix, 496] On 30 Mar 1521 he resigned his chaplainry of St Eloy and constituted sir David Waus his proctor to receive all debts owing to him and to apply them to the use of the convent of the Holy Trinity.[SR, iv, 80] On 15 Sept 1525 a sir John Murref, chaplain, appears as a witness in the monastery of Monimusk. If this is the same individual it is possible that his resignation of the Hammermen's service was in consequence of his promotion to some other, presumably rural, benefice which precluded his continual residence in Aberdeen.[Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 59]

#### Sir Duncan Nachty:

Duncan Nachty appears as a chaplain associated with the parish church of Aberdeen on 15 Nov 1488, and is listed as one of the members of the college in 1491.[St Nich. Cart., i, 72, 257] He served the Rutherford chantry of St Andrew on 11 Mar 1499/1500.[SR, i, 894] On 10 May of the same year he was elected by the fishers of Futy to one of the chaplainries of St Clement's Chapel, and held until his death.[SR, i, 901] He last appears on 10 Oct 1510.[CR, viii, 1126] He had died by 19 Nov 1514 when he was succeeded in St Clement's by sir Thomas Wricht.[SR, iii, 407]

#### John Nachty:

First appears on 15 Mar 1534/35 when the burgh granted him the fines taken of any animal pounded by him in the parish kirkyard.[CR, xiv, 530] On 30 Apr 1535 appears as sacristan. The principal sacristan, sir David Lorimer, protested that this should not prejudice his own right.[CR, xiv, 553] He still held the post under

Lorimer on 18 Mar 1537/38.[CR, xv, 580] On 8 Apr 1541 he was received as a burgess.[CR, xvi, 349]

Cristy Nairn:

On 21 July 1503 John Mar was licenced to attend the school, the burgh receiving Cristy Narne as substitute in his clerkship until his return.[CR, viii, 240] On the following 15 Sept Mar and his father informed the burgh that "the childe Cristy Narne" had left the sang school for the grammar school and had made no service, in consequence of which he was replaced as substitute by Thomas Chalmer.[CR, viii, 256]

Mr David Nicholson:

Described as a presbyter of Aberdeen diocese in his notarial attestation, he was of local origin, the son of Margaret or Jonet Menzies, and in 1520 described by James Litstar as "his moder brodir".[Aberdeen University MS M 390/12/42; CR, ix, 391, 394] His ties of blood had great potential for promotion. Nicholson first appears 3 Mar 1506/7, already a Master.[SR, ii, 417] He is first described as chaplain 18 Jan 1509/10.[SR, iii, 193] From Apr 1510 he is frequently found in association with sir John Stirling, and may have been one of his assistant scribes.[CR, viii, 1074] On 10 Mar 1511/12 he occurs as chaplain of St Salvator, a chantry in the patronage of William Murray, burgess.[SR, iii, 356] He still held this on 15 Dec 1539.[SR, iv, 242] By 17 Aug 1514 he was a priest.[SR, iii, 405] In Apr 1515 he appears as collector of St Nicholas'.[CR, ix, 430] In October 1518 he appears as a notary, and by 10 Jan 1518/19 he begins to describe himself as "scriba curie" of the burgh court.[CR, x, 3; 33] He continued as common clerk of the burgh until his death.[RMS, iii, 2945] On 7 Jan 1520/21 he appears as chaplain of the Leith service of Our Lady at the altar of SS Lawrence and Ninian.[CR, x, 262] He still held this on 30 June 1525.[CR, xi, 593] He was given possession of the service of St John Evangelist on 11 Aug 1522 and still held it on 11 Oct 1542.[CR, xi, 151; SR, iv, 278] On 12 Jan 1522/23 and 5 Oct 1523 he appears as chaplain of St Andrew in St Machar's cathedral.[CR, xi, 226, 354] From 11 July 1523 he served as scribe of the sheriff court of Aberdeen under the deputy sheriff, Gilbert Menzies, provost of

Aberdeen.[SR, iv, 117] He was in possession of the Mar altar of St Andrew in St Nicholas' in July 1525 and Sept 1533.[SR, iv, 127; CR, xiv, 270] From 10 Sept 1527 until 11 Dec 1543 he appears as vicar of Maryculter, and in 1537 as chaplain of the Fechat service of St Michael.[SR, iv, 143; CR, xviii, 52; CR, xv, 479] On 5 Mar 1539/40 he and his son Robert received the gift of the sheriff clerkship for life.[Aberdeenshire Court Bk., i, 465] Nicholson died between 8 Feb and 12 Mar 1543/44. He had a number of children. On 6 Dec 1543 and again on 12 Mar 1543/44 letters of legitimation were issued in favour of his son, Robert.[CR, xviii, 91, 132-5] Another son, Mr John Nicholson, followed in his father's footsteps as a priest and town clerk, and is frequently found in association with him in later years.[CR, xix, 26; RMS, iii, 2681, 2910, 2945]

Sir Gilbert Nicholson:

First appears on 27 May 1522 as a notary and chaplain.[CR, xi, 89] On 2 Aug 1522 he signs as a chaplain of the choir and college of St Nicholas'. [St Nich. Cart., i, 138] He last appears 9 Sept 1527.[CR, xii, 232]

Mr John Nicholson:

One of the natural sons of Mr David Nicholson, his notarial attestation states that he was a presbyter of the diocese of Dunkeld.[CR, xix, 26] "Dominus Johannes Nicholson" appears in 1516 as a determinant of St Andrews, and in 1518 as an Intransigent and pauper.[St A. Acta, 321, 326] He appears in Aberdeen as a Master on 3 July 1526 and as a notary 6 Feb 1527.[SR, iv, 16; RMS, iii, 545] Between 4 Oct 1535 and 12 Oct 1558 he served the Trinitarian chaplainry at the high altar of St Nicholas.[CR, xv, 6; SR, viii, 332] Following donation by Thomas Menzies of Pitfoddels, on 30 Apr 1547 he was given sasine of the endowments of his chaplainry of St Nachtlan's of Cowie.[SR, viii, 336] Between 15 Oct 1538 and 26 July 1559 he occurs as chaplain of the Three Kings, a chaplainry in the gift of Leslie of Balquhain.[SR, iv, 228; Aberdeen University MS 3043]

Sir Matthew Nicholson:

First appears 19 Feb 1484/85.[CR, vi, 907] From 2 Oct 1486 until 1498 he appears as chaplain of the burgh's service of St Peter.[CR, vi, 969; SR, i, 765] He occurs as a chaplain of the college in Nov 1488, and is listed as one of the members in 1491.[St Nich. Cart., i, 72, 257] He appears as a priest in Mar 1490.[Abdn. Reg., i, 322] In Jan 1496/97 he appears with Mr Duncan Scherar in pursuit of a rent owing to the altar of St Andrew in the cathedral.[CR, vii, 776] He died shortly before 9 Sept 1498 when he was succeeded at St Peter's altar by Mr Andrew Craufurd.[SR, i, 764]

Robert Nicholson:

On 5 Mar 1539/40 Nicholson was legitimated and on the same day he and his father Mr David received the gift of the sheriff clerkship for life.[Aberdeenshire Court Bk., i, 465] On 6 May 1541 he was assigned 40s yearly to help buy him clothes as long as he should continue in the sang schools and serve in the choir.[CR, xvi, 785] On his father's death the burgh refused to serve him as heir. He appealed and received royal letters charging the burgh's compliance.[Aberdeenshire Court Bk., i, 465] Nicholson was replaced in the clerkship by Mr Andrew Leslie about 1558. Leslie was in turn succeeded by Nicholson's brother, James.[Aberdeenshire Court Bk., i, 467]

James Nory:

On 4 Oct 1555 James Nory, a chorister, was granted an augmentation of 20s to his fee, making a total of £4.[Abdn. Counc., i, 291]

Sir Richard Paterson:

Appears as a chaplain of the college on 15 Nov 1488.[St Nich. Cart., i, 72]

Mr William Philipson:

There are references in Aberdeen to both a "sir" and "Mr" William Philipson serving in St Nicholas' between 1508 and 1537. They appear to have been distinct individuals as on a number of occasions the two appear together.[St Nich. Cart., i, 142] Among the batchelors of Paris of the year 1492-1493 and licentiates of 1493-94

was "Guillermus Philipson", of the diocese of Aberdeen.[Paris Uni. Auctarium, vi, 715,26 n4; 738,37] In Aug 1512 William Philipson "de Scotia", a presbyter of the diocese of Aberdeen, appeared at the university of Köln: "et tempore iuramenti sui per ipsum die 20. augusti prestiti allegavit se credere fuisse intitulatum tempore m. Petri de Rynck; propterea d. rector mandaverat per bedellum ibidem videre, sed minime intitulatus ibidem repertus erat, ideo postea fuit asscriptus in isto loco".[Köln, ii, 495,51] He first appears in Aberdeen on 5 Sept 1518 as a member of the college, and in 8 Feb 1518/19 as a notary public.[St Nich. Cart., i, 254; Aberdeen University MS M 390/11/34] His notarial attestation of 29 Mar 1519 describes him as a priest of the diocese of Aberdeen and a notary of Imperial authority.[Aberdeen University MS M 390/9/11] An undated note states that Mr William Philipson served the altar of SS Crispin & Crispinian, the Cordiners' service.[St Nich. Cart., i, 36] He last appears on 12 May 1531.[CR, xiii, 153]

#### Sir William Philipson:

Sir William Philipson first appears on 3 Apr 1505 as son of the late Andrew Philipson, burgess, and brother of Agnes Philipson.[SR, iii, 221] He appears on 9 July 1508 as a chaplain, in possession of land in the Green.[SR, iii, 57] Between 12 Mar 1519/20 and 15 Feb 1528/29 he occurs as chaplain of the Three Kings, founded by Patrick Leslie.[SR, iv, 57; CR, xii, 498] He probably served as a chaplain-depute for Mr Gavin Leslie. He appears as a priest on 27 Nov 1522.[SR, iv, 107] On 5 Mar 1523/24 he was in possession of the chaplainry of St John Baptist, and founded an obit at the altar of the Three Kings, to be celebrated on the second Sunday in Lent for the duration of his life, and a Mass of St Anne every Tuesday at it or at the high altar.[St Nich. Cart., i, 140] There are various references to a William Philipson, notary, but it is uncertain to which man this refers. Sir William first definitely appears as a notary on 21 July 1528.[St Nich. Cart., i, 170] He was still active in Aberdeen on 16 Feb 1537/38.[CR, xv, 543] A copy of Voragine's "Legende Sanctorum" of 1503 bears the inscription "Dominus Willelmus philippi capellanus possidet me de jure".[Durkan and Ross, Libraries, 135]

Sir Andrew Pinkerton:

On 7 Apr 1522 sir Andrew Pinkerton was hired as a singer to serve for a year from Whitsun for 12 merks.[CR, xi, 70] In May the burgh also granted him his diet among the burgesses of the town.[CR, xi, 107] He last appears 21 July 1522.[CR, xi, 141]

Sir John de Pittenweem:

First appears 18 Mar 1444/45 as a chaplain in association with the church of St Nicholas.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 107] He occurs as "capellano parochiali" of Aberdeen on 22 July 1450.[Aberdeen University MS M 390/9/19] He received a payment of 10s from the dean of gild in 1453.[Spalding Misc., v, 49] Although he now also had possession of the vicarage of Durris, he evidently still served the curacy of Aberdeen on 2 June 1458, when the Bishop of Aberdeen issued a mandate for the admission of sir Thomas Davidson to the chaplainry of St Anne.[Abdn. Reg., i, 282; St Nich. Cart., ii, 316]

Robert Porter:

On 6 May 1541 Robert Porter was assigned 40s yearly to help buy him clothes so long as he kept the sang schools and served in the choir.[CR, xvi, 785]

Sir John Prat:

First appears 15 Nov 1488 as a chaplain of the college of St Nicholas, and is listed as such in 1491.[St Nich. Cart., i, 72, 257] On 18 Apr 1491 his father, Thomas Prat, endowed the altar of SS Thomas and George. Sir John was to be its chaplain and to hold no other service outside the parish church.[St Nich. Cart., i, 33] He still held the chantry on 8 Jan 1503/4.[CR, viii, 301] On 23 Feb 1494/95 the council granted licence to sir John "to pass to Sanct James his pilgrimage but preiudice to his chaplanry of the croice altar". Sir Matthew Nicholson was to serve at the altar until his return.[CR, vii, 614] Prat next occurs on record on 9 Jan 1502/3.[CR, viii, 181] He last appears on 6 Oct 1511, but clearly lived until shortly before 25 Oct 1521, on which date sir John Fife was presented by the burgh council to the altarage of the Holy Rood vacant by Prat's death.[SR, iii, 312, 159]

### Sir William Ray:

Ray appears as chaplain of St Christopher between 9 Jan 1530/1 and 27 Sept 1533.[CR, xiii, 66; xiv, 270] On 9 Jan 1530/1, as former chaplain of Our Lady Chapel of the Bridge of Dee, he delivered to the council a silver chalice, an image of the Virgin and other altar graith.[CR, xiii, 63] He occurs as vicar of Kintore between 24 Apr 1533 and 9 Nov 1535, and probably still held this in 1548/9 when he discharged the rector of Kinkell's factor of his pensions of 15 merks for the years 1546-48. On 28 Jan 1549/50 his principal house was said to be in the burgh of Kintore.[Prot. Bk. Cristisone, 97, 161, 258, 415, 418]

### Sir Duncan Reid:

Reid occurs as chaplain of the altar of the Holy Blood on 6 Oct 1449 and 12 Jan 1449/50.[CR, v, 59, 72] References occur to a sir Duncan Reid, vicar pensioner of Logie in 1490, and vicar of Glenbuchat on 3 Nov 1498, but it is doubtful whether this is the same individual.[SR, i, 787; Aberdeen University MS M 390/17/2,7] If they were one and the same, Reid must have resigned the Holy Blood before 1493 when Mr Alexander Bisset first appears in possession.[CR, vii, 423] Early last century a broken grave slab lay in the midst of the transepts of St Machar's, before the entrance to the chancel. This bore the fragmentary inscription: "hic jacet ven... dns duncan' rede (?) lo... m cccc l orate p eia +."[Logan's Collections, 161] The same source notes that a chaplain of this name witnessed two deeds of 13 June 1466.

### Sir John Reid:

First appears 9 Nov 1488 with Alexander Reid of Pitfoddels.[SR, i, 807] Occurs as chaplain of St James between 26 June 1499 and 31 Mar 1505, of St Christopher between 3 Nov 1505 and 23 Jan 1519/20, and of SS Lawrence & Ninian between 6 Oct 1505 and 20 Apr 1506.[SR, i, 838; CR, viii, 435; St Nich. Cart., ii, 264; CR, xi, 157; CR, viii, 505, 567] Various individuals of the Reid family occur in his company, including, in 1508, Margaret Craufurd, relict of Alexander Reid of Pitfoddels. In Aug 1519 he appears as tutor to David Reid, heir to his late brother Henry.[SR, iii, 50; CR, x, 110] He last appears on 23 Jan 1519/20, and was deceased on 7 July 1533 when sir William Ray

named him and sir Andrew Scherar as his late predecessors of the altar of St Christopher.[CR, x, 157, 217]

Mr John Reid:

A possible reference occurs in the legitimation issued to John Reid, natural son of John Reid, canon of Ross, 4 July 1543.[RMS, iii, 2926] Mr John Reid appears in possession of St Katherine's Chapel on 1 July 1558.[Abdn. Counc., i, 309]

Richard Reid:

On 8 Oct 1558, in the presence of the council, the chaplains of St Nicholas' gave Richard Reid, singer, the stall formerly held by Mr James Chalmer as master of the grammar school.[Abdn. Counc., i, 314]

Sir Alexander Robertson:

First appears 2 May 1519 when served heir to his mother, Elizabeth Stewart, in a foreland in the Gallowgate.[CR, x, 71] On 2 Aug 1522 he appears as a chaplain of the choir, for which he acted as collector in 1536 and 1536/37.[St Nich. Cart., i, 139; CR, xv, 131, 276] On 19 July 1543 and 8 Feb 1544/45 he appears as a notary in Edinburgh, and is described as of Aberdeen diocese.[Laing Chrs., 473; Prot. Bk. Cristisone, 382] On 23 Dec 1550 he occurs as vicar of Maryculter.[SR, vii, 43] He conformed and from 1562 appears as minister of that parish.[CR, xxiv, 456; xxvii, 172]

Sir Edward Robertson:

Sir Edward first occurs on 18 Sept 1470.[St Nich. Cart., i, 49] Between 18 Feb 1471/2 and 12 Jan 1483/4 he had possession of the Menzies/Blindsel chantry of St Peter.[CR, vi, 172, 822] In Nov 1480 he was constituted proctor by William Blinsell, elder.[CR, vi, 668] He was still alive 2 May 1486.[CR, vi, 956]

Gilbert Robertson:

On 7 Oct 1521 Gilbert Robertson was hired as a singer, to serve in the choir for three years, holding the clerkship of Futy and receiving his diet among the burgesses.[CR, x, 364] On 14 Oct 1524 his fee was increased to 10 merks, six of his clerkship and four of the common good.[CR, xi, 488] In Aug 1526 this was further



augmented to 12 merks.[CR, xii, 21] On 1 Apr 1527 the burgh granted him licence "to pass to the skoullis to lair to play one the organis for twa yeres". He was allowed to retain his clerkship, but was bound to serve the burgh for a year on his return, and thereafter to serve the town before any other employer.[CR, xii, 136] On 12 Mar 1528 the council again gave licence to Robertson, on this occasion "to pas and remane in pareis for ane zeir to leir wertew". The terms of his previous licence were confirmed.[CR, xii, 527] However, on 8 Oct 1529 his clerkship was granted to Patrick Cuming.[CR, xii, 693] He had returned to Aberdeen by 9 Sept 1530 when the burgh obliged itself to make payment of outstanding fees to "thar auld servand and singar".[CR, xii, 878] All singers were discharged from Candlemass 1532/33, and Robertson disappears from Aberdeen record. A sir Gilbert Robeson occurs in Edinburgh on 27 Apr 1532 and signs as a prebendary of St Giles' on 21 Oct 1542.[Prot. Bk. Foular, 1528-32, no.388; St Giles Reg., 254]

Sir Robert Roule:

Roule first occurs on 5 Oct 1444 as chaplain of SS Lawrence and Ninian of the foundation of Meldrum of Auchnecove.[CR, iv, 359] He still held this on 4 Oct 1445.[CR, iv, 415] On 3 Feb 1452 the provost and council granted him their altar of St John Baptist, on condition that it should vacate on his promotion to another benefice or altar.[CR, v, 771] He last appears on 20 Mar 1467/68 when Andrew Alanson granted rents to him as chaplain of St Mary Magdalen.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 300] At his death he held the town's altar of St Michael, which was granted to sir Henry Hervy on 30 Oct 1471.[CR, viii, 429]

Sir William Rouss:

First appears 22 Oct 1408 as a chaplain.[Aberdeen University MS M 340/10/18] Between 5 Oct 1433 and 11 Jan 1433/34 he had possession of the chaplainry of St Lawrence, presumably the Leith service, as he was constituted proctor by Henry Leith in Apr 1434.[CR, iv, 9, 379, 388] He was deceased by 9 June 1487.[CR, vii, 18]

Sir David Runciman:

In 1505 a number of burgess entries were granted to sir David Runciman.[CR, viii, 513] On 7 July 1506 a further 40s were assigned to buy him a gown for his service as a sangster.[CR, viii, 593] He was granted a 40s fee and his diet on 20 Nov 1506.[CR, viii, 638] On 24 Mar 1537/38 letters of legitimation were issued in favour of James Runseman, son of sir David Runseman, chaplain. On 25 Mar 1550 further letters were issued for Florentine Runsyman, son of the late sir David Runsyman, a chaplain in Elgin.[RSS, iv, 620]

Sir Alexander Russell:

Alexander Russael, a clerk of the diocese of Aberdeen appears at the university of Greifswald in 1519.[Fischer, The Scots in Germany, 313] The identification of this individual with a chaplain in Aberdeen is borne out by an inquest of 27 Aug 1529 which found sir Alexander Rossell, chaplain, nearest heir to his mother, the late Margaret Lame, who had lately died in Stralsund, lawfully begotten between her and John Rossell.[CR, xii, 665] He first appears in Aberdeen on 14 Mar 1524/25, in company with sir Alexander Scherar, the vicar of Nigg, in whose company he is often found.[CR, xi, 552] On 9 Sept 1528 the council of Aberdeen ordained that he, chaplain and orator of Futtie, should celebrate two masses a week, on Friday and Sunday, in the chapel of St Clement, for which each fisher was to give 12d a year.[CR, xii, 403] In Nov 1529 he appears in pursuit of a chamber of St Barbara's land, at the altar of which he was probably a chaplain-depute for Mr Robert Gray.[CR, xii, 720] He appears to have served as depute for Mr David Douglas at the altar of St Stephen. In June 1534 he took steps to recover a booth in St Stephen's land, and on 12 Nov 1535 and 28 Aug 1536 he is described as Douglas's factor.[CR, xiv, 392; xv, 35, 202] He was still alive on 12 June 1542.[SR, iv, 272]

Sir David Rutherford:

From 29 Apr 1454 Rutherford appears as chaplain of the altar of St Andrew.[CR, v, 199] He was still alive on 27 May 1469.[CR, vi, 86]

John Sangster:

Appears as a chorister on 4 and 18 Oct 1476.[CR, vi, 449, 455]

Mr Robert Schand:

On 4 Aug 1529 letters of legitimation were issued under the Privy Seal in favour of Donald, John, Elizabeth and Jonet Schand, the children of Mr Robert Schand, rector of Alves.[RSS, ii, 266] On 9 Jan 1530/31 he appears as chaplain of the Forbes service of St Anne, and still held this on 17 Feb 1548/49 when he donated a chalice to the high altar.[CR, xiii, 65; SR, viii, 126] He appears, however, to have served the altar by a depute, sir Patrick Stevenson.[q.v.] On 12 July 1542 he invested the chaplains of St Nicholas' in 240 merks to endow a daily mass at the altar of St Anne for his father, David Schand, his mother, Margaret Forbes, and Archbishop Forman.[St Nich. Cart., i, 247] On 12 Jan 1548/49 he founded an anniversary.[St Nich. Cart., i, 207] He was still rector of Alves in Sept 1550.[SR, viii, 168] The Greyfriars Necrology lists the obit of Mr Robert Schand, rector of Alves on 1 Aug, "qui pretor pluries elargitas partem borialem horti inferioris emit dorsum altaris Beate Virginis fieri fecit, et togam de chamleto dedit".[Spalding Misc., i, 71]

Sir Alexander Scherar (I):

Alexander Scherar appears as chaplain of the altar of St Mary on 6 Jan 1410/11.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 323]

Sir Alexander Scherar (II):

On 22 Oct 1471 the council of Aberdeen undertook to give the first chaplainry or service at their disposition to either Mr Duncan Scherar, Sir Alexander Scherar or Mr Alexander of Fife.[CR, vi, 165]

Sir Andrew Scherar:

On 31 Oct 1502, David, Abbot of Arbroath, presented sir Andrew Scherar, subdeacon, for collation by the Archbishop of St Andrews to the vicarage of Nigg, when vacant by the dimission of Mr Duncan Scherar.[Arbroath Liber, ii, 344] He first appears as vicar on 10 Jan 1508/9 and still held it on 4 Feb 1536/7.[SR, iii, 10; CR, xv, 276] He occurs as proctor to Margaret Scherar, wife of Alexander

Matheson and bastard daughter of William Scherar, as tutor of Agnes Scherar in 1523/24-27, and proctor of his eme Thomas Scherar in 1534.[SR, iii, 392; CR, xi, 423; xiv, 461] On 23 Nov 1518 letters of legitimation were issued in favour of Robert, Andrew and Thomas Scherar, natural sons of sir Andrew Scherar, chaplain. A further legitimation was issued on 21 Apr 1531 in favour of another son, George Scherar.[RSS,ii, 877] He acted as proctor of sir David Barns between 7 Oct 1522 and 1523, and for Mr David Douglas on 5 Oct 1523, both chaplains of St Christopher.[CR, xi, 178, 273, 355] However, he may have held the altar in his own right as chaplain of the Reid service. On 7 July 1533 he and the late sir John Reid were described as sir William Ray's predecessors at the altar.[CR, xiv, 218] Between 15 Oct 1523 and 14 Mar 1524/5 he appears as Chamberlain of Aberdeen.[SR, iv, 104; CR, xi, 552] On 4 Apr 1532 he occurs as dean of the Garioch.[Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 90] He was a priest by 18 Feb 1532/33.[SR, iv, 165] At some date, otherwise unknown, he held the chaplainry of Westhall at St Ninian's altar in St Machar's.[Abdn. Reg., ii, 212] According to his anniversary, to be celebrated on 21 Mar by the chaplains of the cathedral kirk of St Machar, he died in 1538, but as so often with obit listings, this may be incorrect.[Abdn. Reg., ii, 212] He probably died shortly after his last appearance on 19 Mar 1536/37, as the kirk master's account of lair silver of the year 1536 includes a debt "for ye vicar of Nigs layer".[CR, xv, 305, 567]

#### Mr Duncan Scherar:

Described as of the diocese of Aberdeen, Scherar first appears as a bachelor of Paris of 1459-60, and licentiate and incipient of 1460/61.[Paris Uni. Auctarium, vi, 330,26 n8; 351,11; 353,36] In 1458 the burgh council granted the service of St Michael to sir Henry Hervy in despite of their earlier promise that Mr Duncan should have the first vacancy. Mr Duncan and his brother, Andrew, protested against this, but the council held "that it micht nocht gudely forga the service of the said sir Henry fra the service of queir", and promised them the next gift.[CR, v, 806; vi, 165] He and his father, William, were granted the patronage of the altar of St Duthac on 13 Sept 1466, in return for their feftment of the chantry in 10 merks.[CR, v, 834] To this Mr Duncan donated a chalice, books and

other furniture.[Abdn. Reg., ii, 233] In 1470 he held the prebend of Kilmore in the cathedral of Brechin.[Cameron, Apostolic Camera, 161] On 7 Feb 1471 he appears as one of the chaplains of St Nicholas'.[St Nich. Cart., i, 225] He appears as rector of Clatt from 22 May 1487.[SR, i, 76] On 15 Nov 1488 he endowed an anniversary to be celebrated by the chaplains of St Nicholas for his parents, William Scherar and Isabella Rutherford.[St Nich. Cart., i, 71] On 19 Jan 1490 he appears as proctor of William Scherar, son of the late Andrew.[CR, vii, 237, 238] On 7 Sept 1493 Bishop Elphinstone granted him the patronage for life of the altar of St Andrew in the cathedral, founded by the late archdeacon, Mr Lawrence Pyot.[Abdn. Reg., i, 333; CR, vii, 726] On 20 Aug 1500 and 28 Oct 1501 he appears as Dean of Faculty.[SR, i, 920; ii, 336] On 1 Mar 1501/2 he further endowed the altar, and also a bursary in arts in the university, to be given before all others to one of his own blood.[St Nich. Cart., i, 57] This was later annexed to support students in canon law.[Abdn. Reg., ii, 109] Prior to sir William Cruickshank's demise in or shortly prior to Dec 1504 Scherar served as a commissary of the Bishop of Aberdeen.[St Nich. Cart., i, 273] He founded an anniversary at St Andrew's altar in the cathedral, to be celebrated by the chaplains on 25 June, the feast of St Moloc, until his death.[Abdn. Reg., ii, 234] According to his obit, the anniversary was thereafter celebrated on 4 Oct. He died in 1503.[Abdn. Reg., ii, 219]

#### Sir Andrew Seras:

Appears as chaplain of the Blessed Virgin on 6 Jan 1442/43 and held the chantry until his death.[CR, iv, 291] He last occurs on 2 Oct 1478.[CR, vi, 549] On 10 Dec 1484 the burgh council granted the altar, vacant by his death, to Mr Alexander Fife.[CR, vi, 890]

#### Sir John Seras:

Occurs as chaplain of St Michael in 1458/9.[CR, v, 832] On 21 Dec 1467 the burgh council presented sir Henry Hervy for collation to the chaplainry, then vacant by the death of sir John Seres.[CR, viii, 428]

Mr John Smalee:

A sir John Smalee, chaplain, appears serving the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the parish church of Holy Trinity, St Andrews, in 1438, but identification with the Aberdeen chaplain is uncertain.[Rankin, The Parish Church of St Andrews, 59] From 21 Apr 1438, sir John Smalee appears as chaplain of the Holy Rood in St Nicholas'.[CR, iv, 131] The determinants of the faculty of arts of St Andrews of the year 1442 include sir John Smale, a priest, and on 12 Oct 1444 at the instance of the rector and university of St Andrews, the burgh of Aberdeen granted to Mr John Smalee, chaplain of the Holy Cross, free licence to remain in the university, substituting a suitable chaplain in his stead. With their consent he substituted sir John Gall.[St A. Acta, 57; CR, v, 681] Smalee again appears in Aberdeen as chaplain of the Holy Rood between 4 Oct 1445 and 6 Oct 1449.[CR, iv, 415; v, 69] In Mar 1457/8 a papal mandate was issued to the Bishop of St Andrews to collate John Smale, clerk of the diocese of Aberdeen, alleged to be a bachelor in decrees, to the perpetual vicarage of Kingoldrum, of not more than £8 sterling.[CPL, xi, 8-14] Up to this time Smalee had served the Forbes chantry of St Anne, but he resigned this on his promotion to Kingoldrum, before 2 June 1458.[Abdn. Reg., i, 282] His connection with Aberdeen did not end there, as on 7 Oct 1460 and 24 Aug 1465 he is described as the master of scholars of Aberdeen.[CR, vi, 192, 193] On this latter date he endowed two trentals and an anniversary at the altar of St Anne for the souls of himself and his parents. He last appears on 2 May 1475 as vicar of Kingoldrum and a spiritual man of the council.[CR, vi, 361] A reference of 16 Jan 1487/88 mentions the land in the Netherkirkgate of the late Mr John Smalee.[SR, i, 103]

Sir Alexander Smith:

First appears 6 May 1529 as a chaplain.[CR, xii, 568] On 21 Oct 1538 he occurs as factor of Mr Robert Gray, chaplain of St Barbara. On 8 Nov 1538 he is himself described as chaplain of St Barbara, presumably acting as Gray's deputy.[CR, xvi, 31, 49] Between 1541 and 1546 he appears as a prebendary of King's College.[Abdn. Fasti, 114, 121, 122]

Sir Robert Spark:

On 9 Apr 1529 the burgh assigned a five merks pension of sir William Coupar's altar of St Peter to sir Robert Spark, together with 40s formerly held by the late Gilbert Bynne, for his service at all hours of the choir.[CR, xii, 545] On 8 Oct 1529 his fee was augmented with Patrick Cuming's former clerkship, and again on 6 May 1530 his fee as chaplain and singer was augmented by 2 merks.[CR, xii, 693, 811] On 16 May this was summed up as 4 merks pension from St Peter's altar, 8 merks and a clerkship of the town.[CR, xii, 814] On 12 May 1536 he appears as proctor of sir Andrew Coupar, chaplain of St Duthac's altar, and on 9 Apr 1537 he himself appears as chaplain of the altar which he still held on 3 Dec 1549.[CR, xv, 140, 311; SR, viii, 143] On 8 July 1552 a legitimation was issued under the Privy Seal in Aberdeen in favour of Alexander Spark, son of "quondam" sir Robert Spark, chaplain.[RSS, iv, 1650] However, Spark was still alive and a chaplain of the college on 1 Mar 1558/59.[St Nich. Cart., i, 276]

Sir Robert Sprunt:

Listed as a chaplain of the college in 1491.[St Nich. Cart., i, 258]

Mr Thomas Stane:

Among the batchelors of 1466 of Paris appears Thomas de Lapide, of the diocese of Aberdeen.[Paris Uni. Auctarium, vi, 412,25; ii, 980,28] As "dominus" Thomas de Lapide he appears as a licentiate of 1467 and an incipient of 1468.[Paris Uni. Auctarium, vi, 428,27; 431,23; iii, 41,9; 55,18] He was elected an examiner by the congregation of the German nation on 29 Dec 1469.[Paris Uni. Auctarium, iii, 130,14] He first appears in Aberdeen as chaplain of St Stephen on 22 Jan 1478/79. He still held this on 9 Aug 1490.[CR, vi, 574; vii, 189] He died between this date and 9 Dec 1490 when Matthew Stane appears as an heir.[CR, vii, 220]

Sir Patrick Stevinson:

First appears on 31 Dec 1523 in association with other chaplains of St Nicholas.[SR, iv, 122] On 26 Feb 1545/46 he appears as factor or possibly chaplain-depute of Mr Robert Schand's service of St

Anne.[CR, xix, 40] He was still alive on 11 Dec 1552.[SR, viii, 226]

Sir John Stirling (I):

Sir John Stirling first appears 10 June 1474, acting as a notary in Aberdeen. His (Imperial) notarial attestation describes him as a priest of St Andrews diocese, and it is likely that this was also the diocese of his birth.[Aberdeen University MS M 390/12/67] On 24 Jan 1477/78 he appears in Edinburgh as a witness to the confirmation of a charter (dated 10 Jan 1476 at Braikie) by the late John Striveling of Braikie to his son, Mr George Striveling, and also witnessed by Peter Kennedy, constable of Aberdeen. About 1505 he was described as a cousin of a Walter Ogilvy.[SR, ii, 464] On 1 Aug 1483 he received his first known service, at the burgh's altar of St John Evangelist, vacant by the resignation of Sir John Kid.[CR, vi, 798] On 11 Apr 1485 he occurs as chaplain of Thomas Chalmer's service of St Katherine, which he still held at least as late as 13 Jan 1510/11.[CR, vii, 915; viii, 1141] He was listed as a chaplain of the college in 1491.[St Nich. Cart., i, 257] Between 7 Jan 1487/88 and 1502 he appears as chaplain of the chapel of St Katherine.[CR, vii, 43; viii, 92] He resigned this service prior to sir David Liell's death in 1518, as in 1525 both he and Liell are said to have been former incumbents of St Katherine's chapel.[CR, xi, 571] He was a frequent associate of William, the Earl Marischal, by whom on 22 May 1488 he was presented to the altar of the Blessed Virgin in St Machar's cathedral, and with the Earl's servitor, sir Robert Martin, vicar of Garvock.[SR, i, 171] His early appearances as a notary in Aberdeen were frequently in association with sir Robert Leis, another notary who appears to have acted as the deputy town clerk, and for whom Stirling may have acted as assistant. From 1494 to 1517 he appears as clerk of the court.[CR, vii, 594; ix, 692] In May 1497, described as "thar common clerk", the burgh promised Stirling the first perpetual chaplainry in their gift of over 10 merks in value.[CR, vii, 798] Following the death of the town clerk, William Chalmer, and the appointment of Gilbert Menzies as his successor on 4 Mar 1502/3, the burgh granted to Stirling and to his cousin, David Liell, and his other deputies and clerks, the office of common clerkship for life.[CR, viii, 194] On 26 Oct 1505 a precept of



legitimation was issued under the Privy Seal at Aberdeen, in favour of John Striveling, natural son of the late Margaret Gardinar.[RSS, i, 1142] In Oct 1506 the burgh granted him a life pension of 5 merks for his good service. At the request of William, the Earl Marischal, and in recognition of his services to the town, the burgh on 15 Dec 1508 granted its service of St John Evangelist, which he had resigned, to his son, with licence to sir Robert Martin to serve the altar until John, younger, came of age and was promoted to full orders.[SR, iii, 26] Evidently this did not happen, as on 19 Apr 1512 the burgh regranted to him, their "traist familiar and common clerk", their chaplainry of St John Evangelist, whenever it should be vacated by sir Robert Martin, and on 19 Aug the provost duly gave Stirling possession.[CR, ix, 96; SR, iii, 397] Between 7 Jan 1515/16 and 12 Jan 1516/17 he was in possession of the chantry of St Stephen and apparently still held this at his death.[CR, ix, 540, 653; SR, iv, 102] References to Stirling become more sparse after this last date, and he was probably increasingly superseded as clerk of the court by Mr David Nicholson. On 19 July he constituted Mr Thomas Chalmer his executor and left 40s to the repair of the altar of St Stephen, but revoked this the following day.[SR, iv, 102] He died sometime between 20 July 1522 and 13 Mar 1522/23, probably before 11 Aug 1522 when Mr David Nicholson was given possession of the endowments of St John Evangelist.[SR, iv, 102, 113; CR, xi, 151]

#### John Stirling (II):

On 26 Oct 1505 a precept of legitimation was issued under the Privy Seal in favour of John Striveling, natural son of the late Margaret Gardinar.[RSS, i, 1142] An undated supplication for dispensation to all sacred orders and promotion to ecclesiastical benefices described Johannes Stirveling as a scholar of Aberdeen diocese and asked for dispensation to all sacred orders, to permit promotion to ecclesiastical benefices, notwithstanding his birth as the son of a priest.[SR, ii, 461] In recognition of sir John Stirling's services to the town, on 15 Dec 1508 the burgh council granted his service of St John Evangelist, which he had resigned, to his son John, with licence to serve the altar by a substitute until he came of age and was promoted to full orders.[SR, iii, 26] Evidently this did not occur. He appears as "clericus" on 10 Feb 1508/9 and 22 July 1512.

On 19 Apr 1512 the burgh regranted to sir John, their "traist familiar and common clerk" the chaplainry of St John Evangelist, whenever it should be vacated by sir Robert Martin, and on 19 Aug the provost duly gave Stirling actual possession of the service.[SR, iii, 18, 390; CR, ix, 96; SR, iii, 397] John Stirling, younger, occurs frequently in Aberdeen in the subsequent period, but appears to have had no further association with the choir.[SR, iv, 102]

Sir Robert Stirling:

First occurs on 2 Oct 1483 as a chaplain accused of disturbing Megy Garden. Garden was the concubine of sir John Stirling, and mother of his son.[CR, vi, 803; RSS, i, 1142] On 11 Sept 1488 he appears with other chaplains of St Nicholas', and on 6 Oct 1488 as chaplain and proctor of the chapel of St Katherine.[CR, vii, 76, 81] The possibility remains that sir Robert and sir John were identical.

Adam Strath:

On 15 Sept 1477 the burgh granted Strath the clerkship of the Shiprow with the Green.[CR, vi, 496]

Andrew Strachan:

On 4 Dec 1515 the council assigned 40s to their servitor and sangster, Andrew Strachan, son of the late David Strachan, for his surrender of the Guestrow clerkship to Gilbert Binning.[CR, ix, 525]

Mr James Strachan (I):

There are a number of possible early reference to this individual. A James Strathtaquwhyn appears as a determinant of the faculty of arts at St Andrews in 1471.[St A. Acta, 183] On 6 Dec 1473 Jacobus de Stradagen of the diocese of Aberdeen appears at the university of Louvain.[Louvain, ii, 297,94] In 1477 Jacobus Strathaquhyn appears as a determinant in the faculty of arts of St Andrews, and as a licentiate in 1478.[St A. Acta, 197, 202] Again at St Andrews an individual of this name appears as a determinant of 1483 and licentiate of 1484.[St A. Acta, 216, 217] The congregation of the faculty of arts on both 13 Feb 1485/6 and 1 Mar 1500/01 elected a Mr James Strathaquhen as an examiner.[St A. Acta, 221, 274] Whichever of these he might be, a Mr James Strathin occurs in Aberdeen from 28

May 1487 when he was given institution as chaplain of the Blinsell chaplainry of St Peter. He still held this on 6 Oct 1509.[SR, i, 78; iii, 179] He evidently died shortly before 19 Aug 1512 when Alexander Blinsell gave Mr David Menzies possession of the chantry vacant by his death.[SR, iii, 397] A second Mr James Strachan was later active in the university.

#### Sir John Strachan:

John Strachan appears as a chaplain of the church of St Nicholas from 15 Nov 1488 and is listed as a chaplain of the college in 1491.[St Nich. Cart., i, 96, 257] From 31 June 1492 until his death he occurs as vicar of Kinnerny, and as chaplain of the Forbes service of St Anne between 7 Feb 1494/5 and 15 May 1498.[CR, vii, 333; SR, i, 495, 737] In Aug 1496 he was in receipt of a sangster's fee of £4 from the council, although in 1498 this occurs as 4 merks.[CR, vii, 748, 917] In 1501 his fee was augmented to 6 merks.[CR, vii, 1103] He last appears on 21 June 1501 and was dead by 11 Apr 1502.[CR, vii, 1103; viii, 97] On 15 Apr 1504 he is said to have been dead some two years and two months or thereabouts (Feb 1502).[CR, viii, 332] In 1502 David Strachin of Thornton, Kincardine, appears as proctor to Jonet Strathin, alias Thomson, sister of the late sir John, and for Jonet, daughter to sir John's brother William, "borne in the tone quher he dwelt".[CR, viii, 111, 128] Strachan died in possession of two lands in the Green, others in the Gallowgate and Futy and various rents.

#### Mr Thomas Strachan:

On 4 Sept 1478 at the request of Mr Alexander Inglis, chancellor of Aberdeen, the council promised to grant to Mr Thomas de Strathachin, "magistro scholaris" of the burgh, the first vacancy or service in their gift.[CR, vi, 545] In June 1479 at the request of the Bishop, Inglis, and the King, Strachan was granted an annual pension of £5 for his service in the school, to endure until his promotion to a service in St Nicholas'.[CR, vi, 588] On 27 Sept 1484 the council ordained that he be called before the council to be discharged of his pension in default of his service, although as late as 1487 his brother, David, was received as a burgess at his request.[CR, vi, 877; vii, 40] He was active in the service of the Bishop and

chapter of Old Aberdeen. On 3 July 1484 he appears as rector of Fetternear and, between 9 Apr 1487 and 1499/1500, as rector of Tullynestle.[SR, i, 10, 69; SR, i, 878] He occurs as a notary on 20 Sept 1484.[SR, i, 20] In the mandate of 17 June 1490 in response to his petition anent the prebend of Tullynestle, vacant by the promotion of James Lindesay, Strachan is described as a priest of the diocese of Brechin. Strachan claimed that he had been presented to the chapter by the King, had obtained possession, but his right had been disputed by David Gardyner, clerk. Thomas had appealed to the Apostolic See and the case had been committed to an auditor. The mandate made mention of the resignation made that day by William Strachan, clerk of the diocese of Brechin, proctor of Hugh Martini, of right to Lindesay's benefices.[CPL, xiv, 267] He and his kinsman, Mr William Strachan, were commemorated by an anniversary listed in the 1521 Common Rental.[St Nich. Cart., i, 198] He was still alive on 15 Jan 1499/1500.[SR, i, 878] He was described by Boece as "deeply skilled in canon law".[Boece, Vitae, 90]

#### Sir Walter Strachan:

On 29 Apr 1504 John Fife was licenced to pass to the schools and to serve his clerkship by a substitute, Walter Strathathin.[CR, viii, 339] He was hired as a sangster on 14 June 1505 for his diet among the burgesses and 20s of a burgess entry to buy him a gown.[CR, viii, 463] From 11 Oct 1505 he served John Mar's Castlegate clerkship for half of its profits and his diet.[CR, viii, 509] He was described as a clerk on 27 Nov 1506 and as sir Walter, a subdeacon, on 26 Apr 1509.[SR, ii, 390; iii, 113] On 17 Dec 1509, following his resignation, he was succeeded in the Castlegate clerkship by Robert Craik.[CR, viii, 1046] On 8 July 1513 he was found as heir to the late Donald Strachan, burgess of Aberdeen.[CR, ix, 243] He was still alive on 24 Oct 1516.[CR, ix, 631]

#### Mr William Strachan:

Sir William Stradachqwin, of the diocese of Brechin, appears as a batchelor of Paris of the year 1484. He occurs as a licentiate of 1485 and an incipient of 1486.[Paris Uni. Auctarium, iii, 542,25; 605,46; 607,36; vi, 600,23; 619,33; 628,38] A mandate of 17 June 1490 concerning Mr Thomas Strachan's claim to the prebend of

Tullynestle makes mention of William Strachan, clerk of the diocese of Brechin and proctor of Hugh Martin.[CPL, xiv, 267] Between Oct 1492 and Jan 1493/4 sir John Black appears as Strachan's proctor for rents due to his altar of St John Baptist, a service in the gift of the burgh council.[CR, vii, 349, 489] He still held this at his death. On 26 July 1496 he is mentioned as a notary public.[CR, vii, 744] In 1504 he acted as proctor for Thomas Robertson, spouse of Jonet Strathin.[CR, viii. 352] He first appears as master of the Grammar School on 4 Jan 1497/8.[SR, i, 696] He may have temporarily resigned this post, as on 2 June 1504 he is noted as having received possession of the school following letters of Bishop William. He retained the mastership until his death, and was named as last possessor on Mr John Marischal's presentation in June 1509.[SR, iii, 143; CR, viii, 971] On 12 Nov 1498 he was collated to the altar of St John Evangelist in St Machar's.[King's College OCC 26/1-3] As first reader in Canon Law he served as rector of the Snow Kirk from its foundation in 1498 until at least 21 Sept 1508.[Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 221, 321; SR, iii, 77] On 11 Feb 1507/8 he founded an anniversary in St Nicholas for himself and Mr Thomas Strachan.[St Nich. Cart., i, 198; ii, 266] On 21 Sept 1508 having composed his testament he granted all other property to his brother David.[SR, iii, 77] He was dead by 25 Sept 1508 when he was succeeded at St John Baptist's altar by Mr Gavin Leslie.[SR, iii, 79]

#### William Strachan (II):

On 15 Dec 1516 "considerand the gude service done in the kirk be the barnis sangsteris", the council ordained that 20s should be given to Wille Strathathin to buy him a gown for his service in the choir.[CR, ix, 646] The clerkship of the Guestrow was granted to him on 19 Aug 1519 to support him at the school.[CR, x, 105] His contract was renewed for three years from 7 Oct 1521 for a 20s fee, his diet, and the clerkship.[CR, x, 365] On 14 Oct 1524 his fee was increased to 10 merks "ay and quhill the said Willeam be prest".[CR, xi, 487] On 3 Aug 1528 6 merks of his former fee were transferred to sir John Cuming, and on the following 9 Sept his clerkship was granted to Patrick Cuming.[CR, xii, 387, 435] As there is no suggestion that he had died, it seems likely that he had left the service of the burgh council.

Sir Robert Straloch:

Appears on 4 Sept 1539.[CR, xvi, 344] He was served heir to his sister's son, John Westland, on 7 June 1540.[CR, xvi, 537] On 24 Mar 1543/44 the council consented to his admission to the first stall that vacated in the choir.[CR, xviii, 130]

Sir Andrew Syves:

On 10 Oct 1418 Mr John Homyll was presented to Duncan Petit, Chancellor of Aberdeen, to whom pertained collation of master of the scholars of Aberdeen, a post vacant by the death of Andrew de Syves vicar of Bervie.[CR, v, 766]

Sir Patrick Tulloch:

He first appears in October 1473 as chaplain of the altar of St Katherine, and as chaplain of the town's altar of St Ninian between 18 Apr 1474 and 13 June 1481, on which date the burgh made an expectative grant of the service to sir Robert Leis if it were found vacant.[CR, vi, 272, 296, 690] On 26 June 1482, in default of Tulloch's service and personal residence, the council finally granted the altar to Leis.[CR, vi, 741]

Sir John Turnbull:

Appears 7 June 1510.[CR, viii, 1092]

Sir Thomas Uxmintage:

On 24 Dec 1520 he appears as a chaplain of the choir.[St Nich. Cart., i, 132]

Sir Alexander Vocat (I):

First appears 28 May 1459 as a chaplain.[St Nich. Cart., i, 157] On 11 May 1461 the council undertook to give him the first chaplainry at its disposal, yet he was still waiting on 21 Oct 1471 when he petitioned the town to keep its promise.[CR, v, 822; vi, 163] On 24 Aug 1465 he appears as curate of Aberdeen, and as a notary public.[CR, vi, 193] In July 1473 he appeared with his brother Mr William in a protest against the Abbot of Deer who was attempting the recovery of lands of the late John Vocat, burgess of Aberdeen.[CR, vi, 263] In Feb 1475/76 he and his brother, a chaplain in Old

Aberdeen, occur as guardians to the children of the late William Vocat.[CR, vi, 419] He and Mr William both appear as spiritual men of the council in May 1475.[CR, vi, 361] In Oct 1481 he and sir Robert Leis were in dispute anent the division of offerings to their respective chaplainries at the altar of St Ninian, a chantry Vocat still served on 27 Apr 1489.[CR, vi, 695; vii, 119] This was probably the Leith of Barns service.[CR, vi, 928, 947] In Apr 1486 he appears as chaplain of St John Baptist, and again in October on John Knollis' endowment of the altar.[CR, vi, 952; SR, i, 52; St Nich. Cart., i, 83] At his death he further held the chapel of the Blessed Virgin of Reres, in Fife, by the gift of Arthur Forbes of Reres.[SR, i, 164] He died between 27 Apr and 8 May 1489.[CR, vii, 119; SR, i, 164] His heirs appear as his sister Elizabeth Vocat, and her daughter Elizabeth Pyot.[CR, vii, 795, 805] An anniversary in his memory was to be celebrated on the second Sunday after Easter at the altar of St John Baptist.[St Nich. Cart., i, 226]

#### Alexander Vocat (II):

On 31 May 1488 the council, with the advice of the curate and collector, granted the prayer bell to Sandy Vocat, who was to ring it daily at noon and at six in the evening, and to serve in the choir.[CR, vii, 61]

#### Mr William Vocat:

Between 23 Sept 1462 and 9 Feb 1475/76 Vocat appears as a chaplain of the cathedral of Aberdeen.[Abdn. Reg., i, 292, 300; CR, vi, 419] He was possibly a chaplain of the choir of St Nicholas' on 7 Feb 1471/72.[St Nich. Cart., i, 225] On 19 July 1473 he and his brother, sir Alexander Vocat, protested against the Abbot of Deer's attempted recovery of the lands of the late John Vocat, burgess of Aberdeen.[CR, vi, 263] On 2 May 1475 both Vocats appear as spiritual men of the council.[CR, vi, 361] On 9 Feb 1475/76 he and sir Alexander appear as guardians to the children of the late William Vocat.[CR, vi, 419]

#### Sir David Walker:

First appears 4 June 1489 as a priest and on 14 Sept 1489 as chaplain of the Simson service of St Leonard.[SR, i, 166; St Nich. Cart., i,

79] He held the service 10 Jan 1507/08, and was still alive 14 Oct 1509.[CR, viii, 791; SR, iii, 1509] By 1509/10 he had been succeeded in this service by sir Thomas Lamington. A possible reference to him occurs on 24 Apr 1513 as a witness of sir John Davidson's endowment of the altar of St John Baptist in the parish church of Inverkeilour.[RMS, ii, 3855]

Sir William Walker:

On 3 Feb 1538/39 and again in Mar 1539/40 Wille Walcar was hired as a singer for 40s fee.[CR, xvi, 138, 483] As a chaplain he first appears on 5 Aug 1545.[SR, viii, 16] He was a member of the college on 1 Mar 1558/59.[St Nich. Cart., i, 276] On 1 Aug 1560 he was presented by Elizabeth Prat for collation by the Bishop of Aberdeen to the chaplainry of St Thomas Martyr (sic - Apostle) in St Nicholas', then vacant by the death of Mr Andrew Cullen.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 283] On 5 Oct 1565 the council appointed him to serve as keeper of the kirk under Mr John Kennedy. For this he would receive 10 merks annually, together with accidents of marriage, baptism and burial.[Abdn. Counc., i, 361] He appears with other chaplains of the choir on 19 Aug 1575 as a cosignatory of the resignation of the college lands and revenues.[CR, xxviii, 542; St Nich. Cart., ii, 379] He retained the post of sacristan until his death on 23 Mar 1583.[Spalding Misc., ii, 55]

Mr John Watson:

A John Watson appears as a determinant of St Andrews Pedagogy in 1514, as a licentiate in 1516, and an examiner of the faculty of arts in 1516/17 and later in 1527/8. In 1528/9 he appears as an examiner and as a regent of the Pedagogy.[St A. Acta, 312, 318, 321, 356, 360] Individuals of the same name were incorporated at Glasgow in 1524 and 1532.[Glasgow Univ. Munimenta, ii, 149, 159] Mr John Watson first appears in association with Aberdeen as a canon of the cathedral. On 9 July 1537, as a licentiate in Canon Law, he was granted a canonry, for which he was to preach twice weekly in the cathedral kirk.[Abdn. Reg., ii, 317-8] He is possibly the licentiate of theology incorporated at St Andrews in 1551. He is identified as rector of Clatt in 1548. He last appears on 20 May 1558, and on 3 July 1559 was late chaplain of the town of Aberdeen's service of St



Michael in the parish church of St Nicholas. He was succeeded by Mr John Henderson.[G. Hill, 'The Sermons of John Watson, Canon of Aberdeen', Innes Review, xv, 3, 1964; St Nich. Cart., ii, 372]

Sir Alexander Waus:

Sandy Waus appears on 25 June 1515, the former holder of the clerkship of Futy, in which he was succeeded by sir John Murray.[CR, ix, 462] On 10 Mar 1532/33 he appears as a chaplain and as collector of the college.[St Nich. Cart., i, 168]

Sir Andrew Waus:

Probably first recorded 14 May 1509.[SR, iii, 119] Waus appears as collector in 1533 and as chaplain of the Cordiners' service of SS Crispin & Crispinian on 12 Feb 1545/6.[SR, viii, 131; CR, xix, 29] He was still alive 2 May 1549.[SR, viii, 131]

Sir David Waus (I):

Waus first appears 13 Jan 1471/2 as chaplain of the Alanson service of St Mary Magdalen.[CR, vi, 170] He belonged to the Waus family of Many.[CR, vii, 87] Between 1473 and 1490 he occurs as curate of Aberdeen, and in this role appears as a member of council and assize in 1475.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 302; CR, vii, 226; vi, 361] In 1479 he, Mr Thomas Waus, cantor of Moray, Martin Waus, dean of Ross, and Mr Andrew Simson, vicar of Aberdeen were received as burgesses.[CR, vi, 555] He held the vicarage of Banff from 1484, and vicarage of Inverboyndie in 1491.[CR, vi, 854; Aberdeen Townhouse MSS Charters, 6] On 21 July 1480 a bull was issued in his favour as chaplain of the Magdalen altar anent provision to these.[Cameron, Apostolic Camera, 198] In 1481 mention is made of his housekeeper, Christian Cadiou.[CR, vii, 693] In Oct 1485 he and Andrew Murray, elder, were chosen masters of the kirkwork for the year.[CR, vi, 936] In 1491 he was listed as a member of the college of St Nicholas.[St Nich. Cart., i, 257] The 1491 obit list includes an anniversary at the Magdalen altar to be celebrated on the Sunday after the feast of St Nicholas.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 194] On 5 Dec 1492 sir Robert Waus was collated to the Magdalen altar, resigned by sir David.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 305] He may have still been alive on the 14 Jan 1492/93 when he is mentioned as having endowed a second anniversary at the

Waus altar of St Martin.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 304] He was deceased by 27 Oct 1495.[CR, vii, 683] Sir William Morison had succeeded as curate by 26 Nov 1492.[Aberdeen University MS M 390/11/1]

Sir David Waus (II):

Sir David was son of John Waus and Marjory Craik, and brother german of sir John Waus, and of the burgess, Thomas Waus.[CR, viii, 814; St Nich. Cart., i, 133] He first appears on 17 Nov 1505 as sir Davy, the council granting him the keeping of the jewels and ornaments of the church for life. He still held this office on 17 Feb 1548/49.[CR, viii, 520; SR, viii, 126] On the following 16 Jan he received the town's chaplainry of St Duthac, his cousin Mr David Menzies having resigned it in his favour.[CR, viii, 538] On 23 June 1508 the burgh granted him the hospital of St Thomas Martyr, vacant by the death of sir Andrew Chalmer. Following collation he was inducted into the hospital on 31 July. He still held this on 4 Oct 1549.[CR, viii, 842; SR, iii, 66; St Nich. Cart., i, 223] Probably on the death of Mr David Menzies he received the Blinsel/Menzies chaplainry of St Peter which he held between 11 Oct 1529 and 4 Oct 1549.[CR, xii, 696; St Nich. Cart., i, 202] Between Dec 1539 and Jan 1545/6 he appears serving the Waus altar of St Martin.[St Nich. Cart., i, 174; CR, xix, 3] He was still alive and serving as the chaplain of St Thomas Martyr and St Peter on 4 Oct 1549.[St Nich. Cart., i, 223] Sir David and sir John's anniversary was to be celebrated at the altar of St Martin.[St Nich. Cart., i, 133]

Sir John Waus:

A John Waus, student at the university of Aberdeen, who appears 7 June 1504 is to be identified with the first named Grammarian of the university.[CR, viii, 349; SR, iv, 13] The first definite record of his namesake chaplain of St Nicholas', sir John Waus, is of 13 Mar 1507/08 when he was stated to be heir to his father, John Waus. His mother was named as Marjory Craik.[CR, viii, 814] He served as curate under sir William Morison in 1509.[SR, iii, 190] In 1521 he was further found heir to his brother german David.[CR, x, 343] On the death of sir William Morison, he was instituted into the Waus services of St Katherine, which he served from 21 Nov 1509 until at least 4 Apr 1524, and to the second Waus chantry of St Martin, in

which he was still vested in 2 Aug 1522.[SR, iii, 187; CR, xi, 429; St Nich. Cart., i, 136] On 14 Aug 1520 he was presented by John Arthur to his newly built altar of the Name of Jesus.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 128] He occurs also as chaplain of the altar of St James between 2 Aug 1522 and 24 May 1529.[St Nich. Cart., i, 136; CR, xii, 581] On 16 Mar 1521/22 he founded a weekly perpetual mass every Saturday at the altar of St Martin, and on the following 2 Aug an anniversary for himself and his parents, and a soul mass for himself and his brother sir David. On 22 Apr 1553 he granted a further rent for a Sunday mass at the altar of St Martin.[St Nich. Cart., i, 271] He may have been deceased on 16 May 1554.[Aberdeen Society of Advocates MSS, Bundle 8]

#### Sir Robert Waus:

Following the resignation of sir David Waus (I), sir Robert was collated on 5 Dec 1492 to the chaplainry of St Mary Magdalen.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 305] On 14 Jan 1492/3 he was presented to the chaplainry of St Martin by his cousin Thomas, burgess of Aberdeen. Sir Robert was to continue to serve in the cathedral of Aberdeen until the following Pentecost, and to be guided in all things by the advice of his uncle, Mr Thomas Waus, precentor of Moray.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 304] In Aug 1496 he appears as one of the town's sangsters, with a fee of 40s.[CR, vii, 748] On 12 May 1497, this fee had been increased to £10.[CR, vii, 802] On 21 Mar 1501/2 sir Andrew Gray received collation to the chaplainry of the Magdalen following Waus' resignation. Gray had acted as his proctor for the altar in 1494/5 and 1495.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 306; CR, vii, 598, 624]

#### Sir Alexander Wenton:

On 3 Apr 1520, Alexander, Earl of Huntly, patron of the chaplainry of St Leonard, vacant by the death of the last chaplain, Alexander Wentoun, granted it for life to a clerk, John Gordoun.[Bulloch, House of Gordon, ii, 30]

#### Sir Thomas Widder:

On 24 Nov 1493 appears as a priest.[SR, i, 363] On 19 Aug and 3 Sept 1504 he acted as collector of the chaplains and vicars of the cathedral.[SR, ii, 170, 178, 179]

Mr Alexander Wricht:

Mr Alexander Wrycht first appears 1 Mar 1528, and is described as a chaplain in May 1529.[CR, xii, 611, 568] On 14 June 1530 he appears as a notary public.[RMS, iii, 951] He was still alive 30 Apr 1578 when, as chaplain of the altar of the Name of Jesus, and with the consent of the patron, John Arthur, he leased property of the chaplainry.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 285]

Sir Andrew Wricht:

Of native origin, on 27 Sept 1473 Sir Andrew Wryt was received as a burgess by reason of his paternity.[CR, vi, 269] He first appears on 12 Mar 1465/66 as a chaplain.[Arbroath Liber, ii, 148] On 9 Jan 1468/69 he and sir John Leith served as proctors of William Leith of Barns. On 22 Apr 1476 and 25 Feb 1479/80 he appears as chaplain of St Ninian.[CR, vi, 78, 428, 618] He occurs as master of kirk work between 3 Nov 1474 and 9 Oct 1482.[CR, vi, 316, 761] He died in January 1482/83.[CR, vi, 785]

Sir John Wricht:

Sir John Wricht first appears on 16 Apr 1534.[SR, iv, 176] On 4 July 1541 he appears as factor of Mr David Davidson, chaplain of the (Brown) Rood.[CR, xvi, 827] He was given possession of the chapel of St Ninian on the Castlehill by the council on 8 May 1543. He was evidently still in possession of the service on 16 Apr 1566 when the town named him as keeper of the beacon mounted on the chapel's east gable as a guide for shipping.[SR, iv, 283; Abdn. Counc., i, 361] He occurs as a member of the college of St Nicholas, 1 Mar 1558/9.[St Nich. Cart., i, 276] He was still alive 8 July 1574, when he signed an alienation of the college's property.

Sir Thomas Wricht:

Sir Thomas Wricht first appears 12 Dec 1505, by which time he was already associated with the parish church.[CR, viii, 528] By mandate of the council, on 19 Nov 1514 he was instituted for life in St Clement's Chapel in succession to the late sir Duncan Nachty.[SR, iii, 407] He last appears on 16 May 1518 when he founded an anniversary for himself and his parents at the altar of the Blessed

Virgin with rents from his land in the Gallowgate.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 267] He was deceased by 21 June 1518.[SR, iv, 14]

Sir William Wricht:

First appears 29 Apr 1504 when he was granted 5s for a gown and for his service in the choir.[CR, viii, 339] He appears on 4 Nov 1508 as sir William Wright, the burgh granting him his diet among the burgesses of the town, apparently in succession to Walter Strachan, together with a burgess entry.[CR, viii, 894] He is last recorded on 13 July 1511.[CR, viii, 1201]

Robert Young:

On 19 June 1534 Robert Young was hired as a singer to serve in all hours, except for matins on ferial days, from which he was licenced to remain at the school "quhill he be sufficientlie instrukit in grammer". For this he would receive 40s fee and his diet among burgesses of the town.[CR, xiv, 402]

Sir Walter Young:

Sir Walter Young first appears on 10 Jan 1479/80, when he was obliged by the burgh to make service in the kirk for a fee of 10 merks annually and five days meat in the week.[Abdn. Counc., i, 36; CSN, ii, 335; CR, vi, 606] He may have been of local origin, as on 26 May 1480 in the commissary court it was accorded that he should have the forechamber of a land in the Gallowgate occupied by his mother mail free for her lifetime.[CR, vi, 634] On 21 Feb 1482/83 the council promised him the first chaplainry or service at its disposal, other than Our Lady altar which was promised to Mr Alexander Fife. On Fife's promotion, Young would be given St Michael.[CR, vi, 782] On 13 Jan 1484/85 it was agreed with sir Andrew Gray that sir Walter should have a pension of 4 merks of the former's altar of St Michael until he be promoted to a service of 10 merks or more. Young was also to have the keeping of the ferding for 2 merks until the first vacancy at the disposal of the burgh.[CR, vi, 897] He was still in possession of St Ninian's altar on 13 Jan 1484/85.[Abdn. Counc., i, 39] In Sept 1507 a sir Walter Young appears in Edinburgh in association with Andrew Elphinstone of Selmys and Mr Alexander Galloway, vicar of Bethelnie, and again in 1512. It is uncertain

whether this is the same individual, although his disappearance from the Aberdeen records might suggest his migration. The Edinburgh individual may have been a kinsman of the Canongate notary, James Young.[RMS, ii, 3128, 3725]

Fr. William Young:

Appears on 15 Sept 1477 when granted the Gallowgate clerkship for his service in the choir.[CR, vi, 496] On 8 Nov 1480 he still held this, and was commanded to pay 12s from his office to Richard Boyle in the Castlegate service.[CR, vi, 662] He still held a clerkship of the choir on 16 Sept 1481 when received as a burgess by reason of his paternity.[CR, vi, 713] On 24 Nov 1486 the council granted him the profit of the prayer bell, for which he was to make continual residence, ringing the bell at noon and at six in the evening, and serving in the choir at matins, mass and evensong.[CR, vi, 978] Young was only succeeded in his clerkship on 13 or 14 Apr 1501, having become a friar. Following his resignation, it was granted to Jock of Mar.[CR, vii, 1073; SR, i, 961]

APPENDIX 2:

ALTARS AND CHANTRIES IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS, ABERDEEN

For references to chaplains see Appendix 1.

### HOLY BLOOD

First appears in 1449/50 when sir Duncan Reid is named as its chaplain.[CR, v, 59] However, it was probably founded in 1445 when Andrew Cullen, burgess of Aberdeen, surrendered a number of rents totalling £2 19s in the hands of the baillies of the town, to be delivered "tyll ane altar to be mad in the north yill of our lady of pyte".[CR, iv, 411] Although the altar is unnamed, in 1454/5 Cullen acted as tutor of the altar of the Holy Blood, and in the sixteenth century the family held the patronage of the altar.[CR, v, 222; SR, iii, 382]

sir Duncan Reid 1449; Mr Alexander Bisset 1493-1512; Mr John Marschell 1520/21; Mr David Mackeson 1531-37; Mr Robert Mackeson 1537-1546

### HOLY ROOD

c.1290 Walter de Malewyle, burgess of Aberdeen, granted to the Trinitarians of Aberdeen a rent of 2s, for which they were to find a secular chaplain to celebrate at the high altar of the parish church in perpetuity, and a half merk to provide lights to St Mary and the Holy Rood.[Abdn. Reg., ii, 280] On 29 June 1294 Malcolm of Balgowny and Duncan the merchant received from the burgh of Aberdeen those lands and rents given by Mr Richard Cementarius to the altar of St John Evangelist, on condition of paying a half merk annually to maintain these same lights.[Abdn. Reg., i, 35]

The altar is first mentioned as such in 1410/11 and, from at least October 1444, was at the disposition of the council.[CR, ii, 69; CR, v, 681] By the early sixteenth century the altar stood in the rood and organ loft.[CR, ix, 206] An undated rental of the altar valued its endowment at £4 8s 8d.[St Nich. Cart., i, 101]



sir William Leith 1429-1436; Mr John Smalee 1439/40-1449; (sir John Gall depute 1444); sir Andrew Anderson 1472-1475; sir John Prat 1494/5-1512; sir John Fife 1512-1543; Mr Edward Menzies 1543-1564

#### HOLY ROOD (BROWN CROSS)

In 1357 Alexander Williamson, burgess of Aberdeen founded an altar in the west end of the church, on its north side, and adorned it with the image known as the Brown Cross. He was buried before the altar.[St Nich. Cart., i, 17] This passed to the council's gift. On 30 Sept. 1461 the council of Aberdeen attested that Alexander Howison, son of the late John Howison, burgess of Aberdeen, had endowed the altar with 10 merks. The council conferred the patronage on Alexander and his successors, with whom it was to remain in perpetuity.[St Nich. Cart., i, 56] The rental of the altar in 1471 thus augmented by Howison is given as £6 13s 4d.[St Nich. Cart., i, 59]

sir Alexander Club 1461-84; sir Walter Blair 1522; Mr David Davidson 1541

#### HOLY TRINITY

On 7 Jan. 1404/5 John Scherar appeared on behalf of the altar of the Holy Trinity in the church of St Nicholas in pursuit of a rent in the Gallowgate.[Aberdeen Burgh Recs., 213] There is no subsequent reference, and this may be an error for one of the Rood altars.

#### NAME OF JESUS

First appears on 14 August 1520 when John Arthur, burgess of Aberdeen, endowed a chaplainry with a land in the Upperkirkgate. The altar was said to have been newly erected by him. The chaplain was to make personal residence within the burgh, and daily, when disposed, celebrate at the altar, also serving in the choir on

Sundays and other festivals. Patronage was reserved to Arthur and his heirs, whom failing, the provost and council.[St Nich. Cart., i, 144] This still pertained to the family in 1578.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 285]

sir John Waus 1520; Mr Alexander Wricht 1578

OUR LADY (in the south transept)

c.1290 Walter de Malewyle, burgess, granted to the Trinitarians of Aberdeen a rent of 2s, for which they were to find a secular chaplain to celebrate in perpetuity at the high altar of the parish church, and a half merk to provide lights to St Mary and the Holy Rood.[Abdn. Reg., ii, 280] On 29 June 1294 Malcolm of Balgowny and Duncan the merchant, grantees of the endowments of the altar of St John Evangelist, undertook to maintain this payment.[Abdn. Reg., i, 35] The altar stood in the south transept which was known as the choir of the Virgin Mary.[St Nich. Cart., i, 16] By at least 1444 the provost and council were patrons of the altar.[St Nich. Cart., i, 60] In 1484 the value of the chaplainry was stated to be £10 3s 4d, probably the best endowed in the church, and to this numerous additions were made into the following century.[St Nich. Cart., i, 64] In 1518 Mr Thomas Chalmer was named as the chaplain of the altar of the Virgin and St Joseph, the sole occasion on which it was given as a dual dedication.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 267]

sir Alexander Scherar 1410/11; sir Andrew Seras 1442/43-84; Mr Alexander Fife 1484-1504/5; Mr Thomas Chalmer 1504/5-1540; sir John Colison (II) 1545/6-60

OUR LADY (at the altar of SS LAWRENCE & NINIAN)

On 4 May 1440 Henry de Leith of Barns endowed a chaplain with 10 merks to celebrate before the image of Our Lady at the altar of SS Lawrence and Ninian. In the event of promotion to another benefice it would be lawful for Leith and his heirs to present another

chaplain. If failing to present within forty days the right would pass for that turn to the provost and community of Aberdeen, to whom it would devolve forever in the extinction of male heirs. The chaplain was to take part in the canonical hours observed in the church.[St Nich. Cart., i, 184] On 14 May 1441 he increased the endowment to £8, and gave the priest free power to substitute a fit chaplain to do his duty as often as he should have need.[St Nich. Cart., i, 182] On 10 Feb 1552/3 the advocation and donation "alternis vicibus" of those chantries founded by the late William and Henry Leith at the altar of St Lawrence was confirmed to George Seton, and 12 Feb 1577/8 to William Seton.[Exch. Rolls, xviii, 550; xx, 525]

sir William Chalmer 1441; sir Walter Blair 1500?; Mr David Nicholson 1520/21-1522; sir Angus Duncanson 1545/6

#### OUR LADY OF PIETY

This first appears on 25 July 1445 when an altar, probably that of the Holy Blood, was "to be mad in the north yill of our lady of pyte".[CR, iv, 411] Nothing is known of the founder or endowments of the chaplainry, other than the foundation of a mass of the Passion of the Virgin at the altar of St Mary of Piety in the Crypt by Mr David Menzies in 1520, and his anniversary there in 1528.[St Nich. Cart., i, 131, 169] The Inventory of 13 Jan. 1559/60 lists a chalice of "our lady of pity in the wowlt" as being in the care of the burgh.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 374] It has been stated that Alexander Ramsay, reader of Aberdour in 1566, had been the chaplain of this altar.[White, Thesis, 177] However, Ramsay's altar of Our Lady of Piety was evidently in the parish kirk of Aberdour, not Aberdeen.[RSS, v, 3072]

## SS CRISPIN & CRISPINIAN

First appears in 1495.[CR, vii, 660] The chaplain was maintained by the Cordiner craft in both rents and dues, the former augmented in the sixteenth century to £3 1s 8d from £1.[St Nich. Cart., i, 36]

sir Alexander Gray 1495-95/96; sir John Litstar 1495/6-1512; Mr William Philipson; sir Andrew Waus 1545/6

## SS LAWRENCE MARTYR & NINIAN CONFESSOR

- a) In 1356 William de Leith extended the south transept or Choir of the Virgin Mary to accommodate an altar of this dedication, and before which he was buried.[St Nich. Cart., i, 16] An undated rental valued this service at £6 6s.[St Nich. Cart., i, 73] It was still active on 7 Jan. 1404/5 when Lawrence de Leith appeared as its tutor.[Aberdeen Burgh Recs., 214]
- b) Between 20 Nov. 1361 and 1372 William de Meldrum, laird of Auchnecove and Pitcarry endowed a chaplain to celebrate at the altar. So that neither the founder nor his heirs might alienate the endowment of 8 merks, this was to be held by the alderman, baillies and master of kirk work who were to procure the chaplain.[St Nich. Cart., i, 20] In Oct 1422 a papal mandate was issued in response to the recent petition of the provost and baillies of Aberdeen, which had related Meldrum's foundation of the chaplainry. Meldrum had laid down that the right of patronage or presentation should belong to him or his heirs for the first time, and thereafter to the provost and baillies of Aberdeen. His heir, Thomas de Meldrum had violently usurped the lands and rents. At the instance of the town Bishop Gilbert had warned him to desist, but had ultimately excommunicated him for his contumacy. He died unreconciled, and his heir, William de Meldrum continued the usurpation [CPL, vii, 234]. On 17 Aug. 1490 the burgh granted patronage of the altar to William Meldrum of Fyvie and his male heirs in return for his augmentation of the endowment

by 5 merks. On the death of the chaplain then holding the service, sir Robert Leis, Meldrum was to have full power of presentation of a singer suitable for service in the choir where he was to make continual residence. In the event of failure to present to a vacancy within forty days the council would take that turn.[St Nich. Cart., i, 37-9] Following Leis' death Meldrum duly presented Mr Alexander Gordon on 12 Mar. 1496/7.[SR, i, 663] On 10 Feb 1552/3 the advocacy and donation "alternis vicibus" of the service was confirmed to George Seton, and on 12 Feb 1577/8 to William Seton [Exch. Rolls, xviii, 550; xx, 525].

sir Robert Roulle 1444; sir Thomas Anderson 1466; sir Patrick Tulloch 1474-82; sir Robert Leis 1482-1496/7; Mr Alexander Gordon 1496/7; (Mr Hector Boece 1505); Mr John Marschell 1506; sir David Liel 1518; Mr William Meldrum 1526/27; sir Robert Allardice 1544/5

- c) On 29 Nov. 1456 Alexander Irvine of Drum gave rents of 10 merks from Park of Drum and Bodaracht to a chaplainry dedicated to St Ninian at this altar.[St Nich. Cart., i, 99, 45]

sir John de Chalmer 1456-1495; sir John Black 1495; Mr John Burnet 1532/33

- d) On 17 July 1534 Mr John Burnet, chaplain of the Drum service, gave to Mr Robert Anderson possession of the chaplainry founded by him at the altar of St Ninian.[SR, iv, 178]

#### SS MUNGO & TOVINE

On 9 Sept. 1502 the council granted licence to Mr Walter Leslie, parson of Menmuir, full power to build and found an altar in honour of these two saints "in the triangill of thar est end of their queir".[CR, viii, 153]

## SS THOMAS APOSTLE & GEORGE MARTYR

Endowed with £8 16s 8d on 18 Apr. 1491 by Thomas Prat, burgess of Aberdeen, the chaplain was held to be present at the canonical hours of the choir, to make personal residence within the burgh and to hold no benefice, chaplainry or service outwith the parish church. If he was so promoted, the chaplainry was to be regarded as void. Patronage was to be retained by the patron and his heirs, in default of whose presentation within forty days the gift for that turn should pass to the provost and baillies. Should the chaplain fail in service in choir or at altar for forty days continuously, he was to be deprived.[St Nich. Cart., i, 33, 36] The gift passed to Prat's heiresses and their spouses. On 23 Apr. 1539 Robert Cullen appears as patron for that turn, giving possession to Mr Alexander Cullen.[SR, iii, 234] On 1 Aug. 1560 Elizabeth Prat, one of the daughters of late Thomas Prat appears as one of the two patronesses of the altar.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 283]

sir John Prat 1491-1504; Mr Robert Mason 1512/13-1520; sir William Coupar 1524-1537; Mr Andrew Cullen (Cullen/Prat) 1539-1560; sir William Walker 1560

## ST ANDREW

- a) Endowed on 12 Feb. 1450/51 by Richard de Ruderford, burgess of Aberdeen. Patronage was to be retained by the founder and his spouse, and after his death to pass to his cousin Andrew Ruderford and his heirs. In the event of failure to present a fit chaplain within two months, presentation was to pass for that turn to the provost and council of Aberdeen. Endowed with rents of £4 17s and two lands.[St Nich. Cart., i, 92]

sir David Rutherford 1454-1455; sir Duncan Nachty 1500; sir Thomas Binning 1522-23; sir William Coupar 1534; Mr Robert Menzies 1548/9; sir John Colison (II) 1548/9

- b) Endowed on 10 Aug 1473 by John de Mar, burgess of Aberdeen. The chaplain was to be presented by the founder or his son, and patronage to be reserved for ever to himself and his heirs. It was endowed with rents of £2 6s 8d. [St Nich. Cart., i, 90]

sir John Anderson 1500-1501/2; Mr David Nicholson 1525; Mr John Kennedy 1544/45

- c) Following a presentation by his father, Thomas, on 18 Apr 1534 Alexander Chalmer gave possession of a service at the altar to Mr Robert Menzies. This may have been a third service at the altar or else the Mar chaplainry, as Menzies took note that the presentation of sir William Coupar to the altar should not prejudice his rights [SR, iv, 177].

Mr Robert Menzies 1534-1548; Mr Edward Menzies 1562

#### ST ANNE

The altar first appears in 1358. In 1362 Sir Alexander de Forbes of that ilk donated a vestment to the altar, and certainly by 2 June 1458 the advocacy of the altar pertained to James, lord Forbes [St Nich. Cart., i, 17; Abdn. Reg., i, 282].

sir Andrew de Curtasoune 1358-61; Mr John Smalee 1458; sir Thomas Davidson 1458-65; sir John Strachan 1494/95-98; Mr Thomas Chalmer 1501/2; Mr Duncan Chalmer 1523; Mr Alexander Forbes 1523-1525; Mr Robert Schand 1530/31-48/49; sir Patrick Stevenson 1545/46

#### ST BARBARA

Founded by Alexander Gray before 2 May 1509 when he endowed an anniversary for himself and his spouse, Elizabeth Hay [St Nich. Cart., ii, 98, 211]. In Mar. 1511/12 licence was granted to David Anderson to build an altar at the pillar on the south side of the

choir "fornent Saint Barbarys alter" [CR, ix, 91]. The endowments included lands in the Chequerraw, the Netherkirkgate, Gallowgate and Castlegate [SR, iii, 276, 289, 301; St Nich. Cart., ii, 238; SR, iii, 185].

Mr Robert Gray 1511-1553; sir Alexander Russel 1529; sir Alexander Smith 1538

#### ST CHRISTOPHER

- a) On 18 Sept. 1470 John Matheson, burgess of Aberdeen, endowed his chaplain at the altar newly founded by him with rents of £3 13s 8d.[St Nich. Cart., i, 48] The patron of the altar in 1506/7 was Alexander Matheson, son and heir of the late Marjory Cullen, spouse of Alexander Reid of Pitfoddels.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 264]

sir John Modan 1470-71; sir Andrew Chalmer 1488-1506/7;

- b) A second service at this altar was founded by Alexander Reid of Pitfoddels, burgess of Aberdeen, who on 3 Nov 1505 infeft sir John Reid in rents of £2 to celebrate for himself, his late spouse Marjory Cullen and others.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 263]

sir John Reid 1505-1519/20;

The following served one or other of the services at the altar:

sir David Barns 1522-23; Mr David Douglas 1524-25;

sir Andrew Scherar 1520 1530/31; sir William Ray 1530/31-1533

#### ST DUTHAC

- a) In 1359 Lawrence de Crag and John Scherar, burgesses, founded the altar of St Duthac.[St Nich. Cart., i, 17] Presentation had passed to the town by 1442.[CR, v, 662] On 31 July 1464



William Scherar, burgess, with consent of his spouse Isabella, augmented the chaplainry at the altar, which was said to have been anciently founded in part by the alderman and baillies, and in return was invested with the patronage.[St Nich. Cart., i, 19] On 13 Sept. 1466 the town obliged them to infeft the altar in 10 merks "in al possibill haste". Should their heirs become extinct the chaplainry was to revert to the town.[CR, v, 834] On 6 Aug. 1500 sir William Cruickshank resigned rents with the consent of his patron, Mr Duncan.[SR, i, 918] On 23 Apr. 1585 Andrew Scherar, burgess, invested his son, William, in the chaplainry.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 287] On 17 Mar. 1630 William Scherar, burgess, possessor of the chaplainry, resigned its rents to the burgh in return for 40 merks.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 297]

sir Andrew de Abercromby 14th Cent.; sir John Modan 1442; sir William Cruickshank 1482-1504; Mr David Menzies 1504?; sir Andrew Coupar 1508-1536; Mr Andrew Cullen 1536; sir Robert Spark 1537-49

- b) On 3 Dec. 1504 James and Robert Kennerty were convicted by an assize "for contempcione agane the toune conspiracioun pretending tham to mak derogacioune of the tounis patronag of Sanct Duthac altar and to dispine tharappone quhilk pertenis to disposicione of the haile toune".[CR, viii, 399] On 23 Dec. 1504 Mr David Menzies was granted the altar in succession to sir William Cruickshank. Cruickshank had also served the Scherar service.[CR, viii, 405] On the following day Menzies was instituted into this chaplainry, and possibly also into that of the Scherars'.[SR, ii, 198]

sir William Cruickshank 1482-1504; Mr David Menzies 1504-1506; sir David Waus 1506

## ST ELOY

Said in 1564 to have been founded by the Hammermen's predecessors, the altar first appears in 1462.[CR, v, 452; St Nich. Cart., ii, 377] On 25 July 1477 the council granted the Hammermen patronage, yet on 18 Aug. 1494 the council denied the craft's right, but renewed the pledge.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 333; CR, vii, 554; SR, i, 450] The chaplain was maintained by rents, which in an undated rental came to £2 1s 8d, and dues to be raised from members of the craft for which the town granted rights on 17 Sept. 1519.[St Nich. Cart., i, 107; CR, x, 122]

sir Thomas Hervy 1462-94; Mr Andrew Craufurd 1494-97; Mr David Menzies 1502-1505; sir David Liel 1508-1518; sir John Mar 1518; sir John Murray 1521; sir David Middleton 1521; sir David Lorimer 1532-1541; Mr John Hay 1545-46/7; sir John Goldsmith 1557

## ST JAMES

On 25 Mar. 1340 William de Strabrock, burgess of Aberdeen and laird of Foveran, endowed the altar in rents of 6 merks, with reservation of the right to present a chaplain for collation. The altar was said to have been built at the lower column on the north side of the nave. Strabrock was buried before the altar.[St Nich. Cart., i, 15, 54] In 1527/28 a tabernacle was commissioned for the altar which remained in the patronage of the lairds of Foveran.[CR, xii, 309; RMS, iii, 2285]

sir William Leith 1433/4-1436; sir William Chalmer 1447-54; sir John Chalmer (I) 1457-86; sir John Reid 1499-1505; sir John Waus 1522-29

## ST JOHN BAPTIST

- a) The altar first appears in 1400 when Matthew Balram and John Hervy served as its tutors. In 1407 Adam Thomson appears as tutor.[Aberdeen Burgh Recs., 189; St Nich. Cart., ii, 323]

It was in the gift of the council by 3 Feb. 1452/3.[CR, v, 771] Evidently there were two services at the altar, as despite their grant of a chaplainry to John Knollis in 1486, the council continued to present chaplains. On 23 Feb. 1541/42 the council gave licence to the wrights to repair and build their altar of St John Baptist, providing that the gift of the altar remain with the town.[CR, xvii, 113] (See St John Evangelist)

sir Andrew Crag 1400; sir John Crag 1438; sir Robert Roule 1452-1458; Mr William Strachan 1492-1508; Mr Gavin Leslie 1508-1529; sir Alexander Leslie 1529-1542

- b) On 17 Apr. 1486 the burgh granted the patronage of the altar to John Knollis and his heirs male in return for their augmentation of the rental by 5 merks within a year and a day.[CR, vi, 952] On 9 Oct. 1486 Knollis augmented this by £3 7s 8d. Patronage was to be reserved to him and his male heirs, whom failing it was to revert to the council of the burgh. The bishop of Aberdeen was to enforce payment of its rents should the heirs attempt to retain them. The chaplain was to be replaced should he fail in his service for forty days either in person or substitute.[St Nich. Cart., i, 83] Should the patron fail to fill a vacancy within forty days, the right should pass for that turn to the council.[SR, i, 179] On 17 Sept. 1492 Knollis resigned patronage to his son John.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 256] On 17 Apr. 1599 William Knollis, burgess and grandson of the late John, received the right of patronage, which he then resigned to his brother George.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 294]

sir Alexander Vocat (Knollis) 1486; sir William Philipson 1523/24

## ST JOHN EVANGELIST

According to a rental of 1501 this altar was founded on 2 Feb. 1277/78 by Richard Cementarius, the chaplain infeft with St John's Croft and rents, later augmented by various donors to a total of £3 15s 4d exclusive of the toft and croft.[St Nich. Cart., i, 50] Evidently on his death Cementarius left the gift of the altar to the town. In 1294 the burgh granted the lands and rents of the chaplainry to Malcolm of Balgownie and Duncan the merchant on condition of their supplying a chaplain to serve at the altar for 5 merks annually.[Abdn. Reg., i, 35] On 17 Apr. 1486 the chaplain, sir John Stirling, petitioned the council to grant the gift of the altar to any neighbour of the town that would augment it "and make it a haill feftment". John Wormot then alleged that the progenitors of the Kintores were patrons of the altar and he was granted fifteen days to produce evidence.[CR, vi, 952] The 1501 rental includes the late Alexander Kintore as a benefactor of the altar, and anniversaries were celebrated at the altar for him and others of his family.[St Nich. Cart., i, 153] It is possible that the altar also bore a dedication to St John Baptist, as the Wrights of the town were granted licence on 5 Aug. 1527 to devote their weekly penny and prentice and master dues to the altar of St John Evangelist.[CR, xii, 209, 226]

sir Patrick Tulloch 1473; sir John Kid 1483-84; sir John Stirling 1483-1508; sir Robert Martin 1508-1512 depute for John Stirling II; sir John Stirling 1512; Mr David Nicholson 1522-1542; Mr Thomas Annan 1545/6-1555

## ST KATHERINE

- a) In 1360 William de Chalmer of Fyndoun, burgess of Aberdeen, founded this altar, before which he was buried.[St Nich. Cart., i, 17]
- b) On 29 Sept. 1417 William Chalmer, laird of Fyndoun and burgess of Aberdeen, endowed a chaplain at the altar with rents of £16

13s 4d. Patronage was reserved to himself and his heirs.[St Nich. Cart., i, 43]

- c) On 24 Mar. 1437/38 Thomas Chalmer of Murthill, burgess, endowed a chaplainry with 4 merks, with reservation for life. If a vacancy was not filled by the patron within twenty-one days patronage was to pass for that turn to the provost and privy council of the burgh. The rental was later augmented to £6 13s 4d.[St Nich. Cart., i, 51, 52] To a rental of the altar compiled on 5 Mar. 1501/2 is appended the note that "of the said annual rents no charter is held".[St Nich. Cart., i, 51]

sir Thomas Anderson 1461; sir John Stirling 1485/6-1510/11; Mr Thomas Chalmer 1516/17-44; Mr Robert Anderson 1544-47; Mr Edward Menzies 1551-54 (deputy for Andrew Malison, clerico 1551)

- d) On 21 Nov. 1509 sir John Waus was invested in the altars of St Martin and of St Katherine following letters of donation by the patron, Gilbert Waus of Many.[SR, iii, 187]

sir William Morison 1509; sir John Waus 1509

- e) On 31 Jan. 1531 sir James Barclay appears as chaplain of the altar of St Katherine founded by the late Andrew Stratoun. The gift of the service was reserved to the laird of Lowrenstoun and his successors.[SR, iv, 156]

sir James Barclay 1531/2

#### ST LEONARD

- a) First appears in 1355 when it is stated as standing on the south side of the nave. In 1359 William de Mearns donated a large image of St Mary to the altar.[St Nich. Cart., i, 16, 17]

- b) On 6 Dec. 1425 Alexander, Earl of Mar granted half of Coclarachie and a sixth of Gerry in Drumblade to Alexander Seton, Lord Gordon. According to Ferrerius, Elizabeth Gordon "post multa decenter facta, sacellanium, (quam vocant) a Coclarachie ad aram Sancti Leonardi in parochia Aberdonensi instituit, ubi nunc quaque mortua quiescit: cessite vivis apud Huntillaeam anno 1438 die xvi Martii." This was in the gift of Alexander, Earl of Huntly on 3 Apr. 1520. On 20 Mar. 1557 the chaplain "of St Mary of Coclarachie" set the above lands in feu, but in this and accompanying documents the "Mary" is a later insertion.[Bulloch, House of Gordon, ii, 15, 21, 30-32]

sir John Gall 1460(?); sir Andrew Henderson 1502(?); sir Alexander Wentoun 1520; Mr John Gordon 1520-1534; Mr David Carnegie 1557/8-1558

- c) On 14 Sept. 1489 David Simson, burgess of Aberdeen, endowed his chaplain at the altar with £6 8d. Presentation for collation was reserved to Simson and his heirs. If they failed to present within forty days of a vacancy, the gift should pass for that turn to the Bishop. In the extinction of heirs the gift should pass permanently to the Bishop. If the chaplain failed in his duties for forty days continuously, the service was to be held as vacant.[St Nich. Cart., i, 79]

sir David Walker 1489-1507; sir Thomas Lamington 1509/10-22; Mr Robert Menzies 1527/8-1536; Mr Edward Menzies 1546-65

#### ST MARGARET

First appears on 12 March 1563/64, on which date its chaplain, Mr Edward Menzies appears in pursuit of a 20s rent payable to it. This is the sole reference to this altar [Abdn. Counc., i, 254].

## ST MARTIN

- a) First appears on 29 Mar. 1479 when John Lepar, a citizen of Veere gave £7 to the sustentation of the altar of St Martin in St Nicholas from land bought from James Bisset, clerk of the diocese of Aberdeen.[CR, v, 584] This is probably to be associated with Mr Thomas Waus, canon of Aberdeen, precentor of Moray's partial endowment of the altar. He is said to have intended to found a perpetual chaplainry there, "but in the midst of his days he went the way of all flesh".[St Nich. Cart., i, 82] On 30 Mar. 1480 he donated a land in the Castlegate to a chaplain to celebrate at the altar for his father John, mother Marjory, siblings, kin and faithful dead. The chaplain was to be present at greater hours on all Sundays and double feasts in decent habit. Patronage was reserved to the founder for life, thereafter to pass to his brother John and his heirs male. In the event of failure to present to a vacancy within thirty days, the right for that turn was to pass to the dean and canons of the cathedral.[St Nich. Cart., i, 174] Patronage remained in the gift of the Waus family into the sixteenth century.[SR, iii, 187]

sir Robert Waus 1492/3; sir Andrew Coupar 1505; sir William Morison 1509; sir John Waus 1509; sir David Waus 1539-45/46

- b) First appears 30 Sept 1581 when John Cheyne of Tilliebourie, patron of the chaplaincy of St Martin in St Nicholas, sold this to his son Alexander [St Nich. Cart., ii, 286].

## ST MARY MAGDALEN

- a) On 20 Mar. 1467/68 Andrew Alanson, burgess of Aberdeen, and his spouse, Cristina Cadiou, endowed a chaplainry at the altar with rents of 13 merks. Patronage was to be retained by their heirs. On 12 Sept. 1473 Alanson resigned his rights in the altar to his brother Thomas.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 301, 302]

The Bishop had the right of collation to the altar, presumably from the date of its foundation, and certainly by 5 Dec. 1492.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 305] On 21 May 1504 the Bishop is named as patron.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 307] The 1511 *Rentale Episcopatus* lists the chaplainry of St Mary Magdalen in the church of St Nicholas as at the disposition of the Bishop of Aberdeen, and annexed to a burse in Civil Law.[Abdn. Reg., i, 380] Following Elphinstone's death and the vacancy of the diocese, the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral exercised this right in association with the Principal of King's.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 307] In June and July 1516 the Council of Aberdeen attempted to defend their claim to the chaplainry against the President and Chapter of the Cathedral.[CR, ix, 593, 601] In 1563 the Principal and Sub-Principal of King's are named as patrons of the altar.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 309]

sir Robert Roule 1467/68; sir David Waus (I) 1471/2-1492; sir Robert Waus 1492-1501/2; sir Andrew Gray 1501/2-1504; Mr John Chalmer 1504/5; Mr Arthur Boece 1506; Mr David Menzies 1506; Mr John Cumyng 1515; (sir John Fife ineffective 1516); Mr Thomas Clerk 1518; Mr Hector Mirtoun 1518-1563; Mr John Kennedy 1563

- b) On 13 July 1470 the burgh confirmed to John Fife, burgess, his heirs and chaplains, all freedoms that he had held of the altar of the Magdalen, with all the endowments he had purchased for it. The burgh confirmed the same to Alanson, and "sua that eny man that giffis indowment or feftment to the saide altar sal be maysteris and patrownis of thair awin gift". Each of their chaplains was to advise on the disbursement of such sums as they received to the endowment of the altar [CR, vi, 30].



## ST MAURICE

The sole reference to "capellam beati Mauricii in ecclesia parochiali de Abirdene" occurs on 4 Feb 1514/15.[SR, iii, 411] This may be an error for the chapel so dedicated in the cathedral.

## ST MICHAEL

- a) An altar of this dedication existed on 21 Apr. 1438 when sir William Davidson appears as its chaplain.[CR, iv, 131] This may be the chantry, the patronage of which on 14 Nov. 1457 was assigned by Mr John Clatt, canon of Aberdeen, to the provost and baillies of the burgh. He had founded the chaplainry, and patronage had previously been assigned to his cousin, the recently deceased Duncan de Clatt. Any vacancy was to be filled within twenty days.[CR, v, 312] In Oct. 1471 Gilbert the Waus, one of the heirs of Duncan Clatt unsuccessfully disputed the town's right to patronage, and the case was put to the adjudication of the Bishop at Easter 1472.[CR, vi, 164, 165]

sir William Davidson 1438; sir John Seras 1458/9-1467; sir Henry Hervy (i) 1458, (ii) 1471, 1473; sir Robert Roule 1471; Mr Alexander Fife 1480-82; Mr Andrew Craufurd 1505; sir Thomas Binning 1505-1522/3; sir John Cuming 1534-37; Mr John Watson 1559; Mr John Henderson 1559-60

- b) On 18 July 1472 Matthew Fechat, burgess of Aberdeen endowed a chaplainry at the altar with £7 17s 4d. This was to be held by John Colison, whom failing, another son of David Colison and Agnes Fechat, or a fit chaplain until he be promoted to the presbyterate, and so on until David and Agnes had a son to serve the altar. The chaplain was bound to daily celebration of mass, and daily to serve in the choir at the solemn hours. Patronage was reserved to Fechat and his son John, whom failing, David Colison and his heirs. If any heir should withhold rent, the Bishop should compel their payment.[St

Nich. Cart., i, 87] By 19 Mar. 1547 presentation pertained in turn to an unknown number of heirs, including Margaret Colison, who was to resign this to William Roland.[SR, viii, 78]

sir John Colison (I) 1472; sir Andrew Colison 1500-1506/7; Mr David Menzies 1511-1518; Mr David Nicholson 1537; sir Alexander Leslie 1546-52

- c) On 25 Sept. 1497 John Logan gave Sir John Rutherford, provost of Aberdeen, possession of the altar of St Michael.[SR, i, 682] Patronage was in Rutherford's hands on 14 Mar. 1501.[SR, i, 22] He retained this on 26 Dec. 1504 when he gave possession to sir Richard Anderson.[SR, ii, 199] On 13 Jan. 1504/5 the council constituted proctors to defend the town against the summons raised by Sir John Rutherford anent the patronage of the altar.[CR, viii, 412] On 27 Jan. 1505/6 the town quitclaimed Rutherford and his heirs of all accounts, goods and debates which the town might have right to claim from him in return for his surrender of patronage of the chaplainry.[CR, viii, 542] On 5 Oct. 1506 his chaplain, sir Richard Anderson, was granted a 5 merk pension until he could be promoted to another chaplainry for his renunciation of his right to St Michael's altar.[CR, viii, 608]

sir Andrew Gray (Logan/Rutherford) 1484/5-1504; sir Richard Anderson 1504-1506

#### ST NICHOLAS

- a) A chantry was founded c.1290 by Walter de Malewyle, who for the souls of himself and his wife Sybille granted to the Minister and Convent of the Trinitarians of Aberdeen a rent of 2s, for which they were to find a secular chaplain to celebrate in perpetuity at the high altar of the parish church, and a half merk to provide lights to St Mary and the Holy Rood.[Abdn. Reg., ii, 280] In Feb. 1458/59 the Minister

of the house and the chaplain, sir Andrew Henderson agreed to the latter's pension of 6 merks.[CR, v, 810]

sir Andrew Henderson 1458-95; Mr Alexander Fife 1502/3-1504/5; sir William Anderson 1504/5-1512; Mr John Nicholson 1535-1558

- b) A document of 1519 records a chaplainry of £8 founded by the late Mr Alexander Cullen, rector of Oyne, at the altar of St Nicholas of Aberdeen, and outwith the common distribution of the choir of the cathedral.[Abdn. Reg., ii, 109] Cullen died c.1514. [Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 351]

#### ST PETER

- a) The altar first occurs on 5 Sept. 1435.[CR, iv, 39]

sir John Lamb 1435

- b) On 20 September 1450 Thomas Blindsel endowed the altar with £6 11s 4d.[CR, v, 755] On 20 Feb. 1455/56 Blindsel augmented the chaplainry to 10 merks, with the consent of his heirs by his two marriages. On his death patronage was to pass to his eldest son, Alexander, for one turn, then to his second son, William, and so to their heirs in alternate turns. The rental was later augmented by a further 20s.[St Nich. Cart., i, 110]

sir Edward Robertson 1471/2-1484; Mr James Strachan 1509-1512; Mr David Menzies 1512-1521; sir David Waus (II) (Blinsel/Menzies) 1529-1549

- c) An undated charter by Mr John Livingstone, vicar of Inverugie, records his endowment of a chaplainry with £3 11s of rents.[Abdn. Reg., ii, 315] The patronage was to be retained by the granter for life, after which it was to pass to the provost and council. The chaplain was to make continual residence and to be present daily at matins and vespers, and

not to hold any other benefice. The foundation of the chantry can be dated to between 12 July 1483 and 2 Oct 1486.[CR, vi, 949, 969] An undated rental of this altar totalling £4 3s 8d is clearly that of Livingstone's foundation.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 314] By 9 Sept. 1498 this was in the gift of the burgh.[SR, i, 764]

sir Matthew Nicholson 1486-1498; Mr Andrew Craufurd 1498-1505; Mr David Menzies 1505/6-1529; sir William Coupar 1529-1539; Mr James Menzies 1539; Mr Edward Menzies 1543/4?; sir David Waus 1549

- d) On 12 Oct. 1558 there appears a chaplainry of St Peter founded by the late Alexander Mathesone and at that time in the patronage of Andrew Scherar.[SR, viii, 332] This was probably the Alexander Matheson active from c.1490 and deceased by 4 Aug 1538. [St Nich. Cart., i, 37, 178] It is possible that this was the chaplainry of St Christopher of which he was patron.

Mr John Kennedy 1558

#### ST SALVATOR

- a) On 12 Sept. 1431 William Chalmer of Fyndoun gave a rent of 40s from his lands of Brynnas Tull in Buchan to a chaplain at the altar built by him in honour of Our Lord and Saviour.[St Nich. Cart., i, 42]
- b) On 19 Oct. 1490 the council of Aberdeen granted licence to Andrew Murray, elder, to construct an altar on the south side of the parish church.[CR, vii, 209] On 11 Apr. 1497 Murray endowed the chaplain of the altar of St Salvator in rents of £6 14s 8d. The chaplain was to serve in the choir on Sundays and double feasts, and to reside personally in the burgh. If for forty days continuously he failed in residence or service without due licence the chaplainry was to be regarded as

vacant. Patronage of the altar was reserved to the founder and to his nearest male heirs of the name of Murray.[St Nich. Cart., i, 94] In the event of the patron failing to fill a vacancy within forty days, this right was to pass to the burgh for that turn. If the patrons deprived the altar of its rents, the Bishop was to enforce their payment.[SR, i, 452] In 1505 Murray augmented the chaplainry to sustain a lamp and other lights at the altar. The chaplainry remained in the patronage of the family until 22 Nov. 1596 when Thomas Murray, burgess, renounced his right of patronage in favour of the burgh, by which it was to be employed for pious uses.[St Nich. Cart., ii, 380]

sir John Chalmer (II) 1497-1509/10; Mr David Nicholson 1511/12-1539

#### ST SEBASTIAN

The altar was in existence on 14 June 1477.[CR, vi, 488] On 24 Sept. 1498 Alexander Menzies, provost of the burgh, infeft the chaplain in a rent of £3 to sustain a lamp before the Sacrament at the high altar.[St Nich. Cart., i, 229, 74] On 6 June 1500 the dedication to St Sebastian appears coupled with St Sabanus.[SR, i, 906] Two fragmentary documents in the Cartulary record the endowment of the altar by William and Gilbert Menzies, burgesses of Aberdeen.[St Nich. Cart., i, 28-32] The latter is probably associated with the licence granted by the council, on 28 July 1514, to Gilbert, then provost, "to dilate and extending Sant Sebastianis ill quhilk he intendis to big god willing twa fut of bred or mar gif neid beis for the alter of Sanct Sebastianis now biggit".[CR, ix, 363]

sir Robert Leis 1477-92; sir David Leis 1500-1517; sir James Barclay 1547/8

## ST STEPHEN

- a) On 18 Mar. 1444/5 Stephen de Balcrony, burgess of Aberdeen endowed a chaplain to celebrate at the altar. A chamber was provided for the chaplain, who was to attend the greater hours, in decent habit, with the other chaplains of the church on Sundays and double feasts. Patronage was reserved to Balcrony's son Richard and his heirs. In the event of their absence in places remote for a year and a day, the provost, baillies and council were to present for that turn to any vacancy with the consent of the vicar and the chaplains of Our Lady and of the Holy Rood.[St Nich. Cart., i, 115] An undated rental of the altar gives its endowments as 10 merks, but reduced to 6 merks by the dilapidation of a tenement.[St Nich. Cart., i, 92] On 12 June 1494 John Stephen, the late Richard Stephen's son and heir constituted proctors to resign his right of patronage of the altar to Duncan Colison, to whom actual possession was given on 7 Aug. that year.[SR, i, 439, 448] On Duncan's death the gift passed to his son John, and following his death, to John's brother James on 13 Sept. 1542.[SR, iii, 275]

Mr Thomas Stane 1478/79-90; Mr William Colison 1490-99; sir Andrew Colison 1499-1509/10; sir John Stirling 1515/16-1516/17; sir Alexander Russel 1534-1535; sir David Hervy 1538; sir John Colison (II) 1564

- b) The *Rentale Episcopatus* of 1511 lists among dignities, prebends and chaplainries at the disposal of the Bishop of Aberdeen "Capellania sancti Stephani in eadem ecclesia beati Nicholaii".[Abdn. Reg., i, 380]

Mr David Douglas 1535-36

### THREE KINGS

An undated and incomplete document records the endowment of the altar by Patrick Leslie, elder, burgess of Aberdeen, in favour of Mr Gavin Leslie.[Abdn. Reg., ii, 297] This can be dated to before 18 Aug. 1519 when Leslie augmented its properties.[SR, iv, 40] The patronage of the altar had passed to John Leslie of Balquhain by 26 July 1559.[Aberdeen University MS 3043]

Mr Gavin Leslie 1519-1521; sir William Philipson 1519/20-1528/29; Mr John Nicholson 1538-1559; (Mr Andrew Leslie in exp. 1559); Mr Edward Menzies 1562 (?)

### UNKNOWN DEDICATION

On 12 Mar. 1511/12 licence was granted to David Anderson to found and build an altar "at the pillar on the southt syd of the queyr of the said kirk forment Saint Barbarys altar", which he was to endow within a year and a day with 6 merks until God provided more.[CR, ix, 91]

## CHAPLAINS OF THE CHAPELS OF NEW ABERDEEN

### ST CLEMENT'S

sir Ingeram Bannerman 1467-1504; sir Duncan Nachty 1500-1514; sir Thomas Wricht 1514; sir Thomas Lamington 1505; sir Alexander Russel 1528; sir James Barclay 1545

### BLESSED VIRGIN MARY, OF THE BRIDGE OF DEE

sir William Ray 1530/31

### ST KATHERINE'S

sir John Gall 1472; sir John Stirling 1488-1502; sir David Liel 1518; sir William Coupar 1520-1526/7; sir John Cumyng 1542-46; Mr John Reid 1558

### ST NINIAN'S

Mr Thomas Chalmer 1504-1521; sir John Wricht 1543

### ST THOMAS' HOSPITAL

Mr John Chalmer 1459-82; sir Andrew Chalmer 1480-1508; sir David Waus 1508-49

## MASTERS OF THE SCHOOLS

### SANG SCHOOL

sir Andrew Anderson alias Thomson 1452/3-83; Robert Boyle 1483-87; Robert Huchonson 1487-96; sir Andrew Coupar 1505/6; sir Thomas Binny 1505/6; sir John Cuming 1518/19-22; sir John Fethy 1544-46; sir John Black 1546-70 and 1577-87

### GRAMMAR SCHOOL

sir Andrew Syves 1418; Mr John Homyll 1418; Mr John Smalee 1460-65; Mr Thomas Strachan 1478-1484; Mr William Strachan 1497/8-1509; Mr John Marschell 1509-1527; Mr John Bisset 1519? and 1529-30/31; Mr Hugh Munro 1538/9-1550; Mr James Chalmer 1550-56; Mr John Henderson 1559-69/70



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Primary Sources

#### Manuscript

- Aberdeen Burgh Council Registers (Aberdeen City Archives, Edinburgh University Special Collections Microfilms, West Register House Microfilms)
- Aberdeen Sasine Registers (Aberdeen City Archives)
- Accounts of Dean of Gild, 1453, 1470-1 (photocopy), 1548-51 (Aberdeen City Archives)
- Aberdeen Town House Charters (Aberdeen City Archives)
- Aberdeen Society of Advocates' Library (Society of Advocates, Aberdeen, MSS Bundle 8)
- Ayr Burgh Council Registers (Edinburgh University Special Collections Microfilms)
- Leslie of Balquhain Muniments (Aberdeen University Special Collections - MS 3043)
- Marischal College Charters (Aberdeen University Special Collections - MS M 390)
- Gordon Castle Muniments (Scottish Record Office, GD 44)
- National Library of Scotland (NLS Adv. MS 15/1/18)

#### Printed

- Aberdeen Council Letters, ed. L.B. Taylor, 6 vols. (London, 1943-61)
- Aberdeen Friars: Red, Black, White, Grey, ed. P.J. Anderson (Aberdeen, 1909)
- Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices, 1561-1572 (Scottish History Society, 1949)
- Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, ed. T. Dickson and Sir J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1877-1916)
- Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sancti Andree, 1413-1588, ed. A.I. Dunlop (Scottish History Society and St Andrews University Publication No. 56, Edinburgh, 1964)

- Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland, 1124-1424 and 1424-1707 (Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1868-1910)
- The Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices 1418-1488, ed. A.I. Dunlop (London, 1934)
- Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis (Paris, 1894-1964)
- Ayr Burgh Accounts 1534-1624, ed. G.S. Pryde (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh 1937)
- Bamff Charters, 1232-1703, ed. J.H. Ramsay (Oxford, 1915)
- Hector Boece: Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae, ed. J. Moir, (New Spalding Club, 1894)
- The Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1531-1538, ed. J.M. Webster and A.A.M. Duncan (Dunfermline, 1953)
- Calendar of the Laing Charters, 854-1837, ed. J. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1899)
- Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, ed. W.H. Bliss and others (London, 1893-)
- Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope, ed. W.H. Bliss (London, 1896)
- Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII of Avignon, 1378-1394, ed. C. Burns (Scottish History Society, 1976)
- Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII of Avignon, 1394-1419, ed. F. McGurk (Scottish History Society, 1976)
- Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1418-1422, ed. E.R. Lindsay and A.I. Cameron (Scottish History Society, 1934)
- Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1423-1428, ed. A.I. Dunlop (Scottish History Society, 1956)
- Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1428-1432, ed. I.B. Cowan and A.I. Dunlop (Scottish History Society, 1970)
- Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1433-1447, ed. A.I. Dunlop and David Maclauchlan (University of Glasgow, 1983)
- Calendar of Writs preserved at Yester House, 1166-1503, ed. C.C.H. Harvey and J. Macleod (Scottish Record Society, 1930)
- Cartularium Ecclesiae Collegiatae Sancti Nicolai, ed. J. Cooper (New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1888, 1892)
- The Catechism of John Hamilton, 1552, ed. T.G. Law (Oxford, 1884)

- Charters and other Writs illustrating the History of the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen 1171-1804, ed. P.J. Anderson (Aberdeen, 1890)
- Charters, Writs and Public Documents of the Royal Burgh of Dundee, ed. W. Hay, (Dundee, 1880)
- Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm, ed. D.E. Easson and A. Macdonald (Scottish History Society, 1938)
- Charters of the Abbey of Lindores, ed. J. Dowden (Scottish History Society, 1903)
- Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Peebles (Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1872)
- Charters of the Hospital of Soltre, of Trinity College, Edinburgh, and other Collegiate Churches in Midlothian (Bannatyne Club, 1861)
- Charters and other Documents relating to the Royal Burgh of Stirling, ed. R. Renwick (Glasgow, 1884)
- The Charters of the Priory of Beaulieu (Grampian Club, 1877)
- Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff (Spalding Club, 1843)
- Concilia Scotiae, ed. J. Robertson (Bannatyne Club, 1866)
- Criminal Trials in Scotland from 1488 to 1624, ed. R. Pitcairn (Bannatyne Club, 1833)
- William Dunbar: The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. W. Mackay Mackenzie (London, 1932)
- Dunfermline Gild Court Book, ed. E.P.D. Torrie (Scottish Record Society, 1986)
- Early Records of the University of St Andrews, ed. J.M. Anderson (Scottish History Society, 1926)
- Early Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1317, 1398-1407, ed. W.C. Dickinson (Scottish History Society, 1957)
- Epistolare in Usum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Aberdonensis, ed. B. McEwen (Edinburgh, 1924)
- The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, ed. J. Stuart and others (Edinburgh, 1878-1908)
- Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1398-1625, ed. J. Stuart, 2 vols. (Spalding Club, 1844-48)
- Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1403-1603, ed. J.D. Marwick and M. Wood, 6 vols. (Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1869-92, 1927)

- Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Lanark, ed. R. Renwick (Glasgow, 1893)
- Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Peebles (Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1910)
- Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, ed. R. Renwick (Glasgow, 1887-9)
- Fasti Aberdonenses: Selections from the Records of the University and King's College of Aberdeen, 1494-1854, ed. C. Innes (Spalding Club, 1854)
- Ferrerius: Ferrerii Historia Abbatum de Kynlos (Bannatyne Club, 1839)
- Froissart's Chronicles, ed. J. Joliffe (London, 1848)
- Geographical Collections relating to Scotland made by Walter Macfarlane (Scottish History Society, 1906-08)
- James Gordon: Description of Bothe Touns of Aberdene (Spalding Club, 1842)
- The Hammermen of Edinburgh and their Altar in St Giles, ed. J. Smith (Edinburgh, 1906)
- Haraldssona Saga, ed. Athalbjararson (1941-51)
- Robert Henryson: Poems of Robert Henryson, ed. C. Elliot (Oxford, 1963)
- Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff (Spalding Club, 1847-49)
- Inventory of documents relating to the Scrymgeour family estates, 1611 (Scottish Record Society, 1912)
- John de Irlandia: The Meroure of Wyssdome (Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1926, 1965)
- Knights of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland, ed. I.B. Cowan, P.H.R. Mackay and A. Macquarrie (Scottish History Society, 1983)
- John Knox: The Works of John Knox, ed. D. Laing, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1846-64)
- \_\_\_\_\_: John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, ed. W.C. Dickinson, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1949)
- Liber Collegii Nostre Domine: Registrum Ecclesie B.V. Marie et S. Anne infra Muros Civitatis Glasguensis 1549 (Maitland Club, 1846)
- Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc (Bannatyne Club, 1846-56)
- Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh (Bannatyne Club, 1847)

Liber S. Marie de Calchou (Bannatyne Club, 1846)  
Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis (Bannatyne Club, 1840)  
Liber Protocollorum M. Cuthberti Simonis Notarii Publici et Scribae Capituli Glasguensis, 1499-1513 (Grampian Club, 1875)  
Liber Sancte Marie de Melros (Bannatyne Club, 1837)  
 Sir David Lindsay: The Works of Sir David Lindsay, ed. D. Hamer (Scottish Text Society, 1931-36)  
Matricule de l'Université de Louvain, ed. E. Reussens and Schillings (Brussels, 1903-58)  
Matrikel der Universität Köln, ed. H. Keussen (Bonn, 1892-1931)  
Munimenta Almae Universitatis Glasguensis, ed. C. Innes (Maitland Club, 1854)  
Munimenta Fratrum Predicatorum de Glasgu (Maitland Club, 1846)  
Muniments of the Royal Burgh of Irvine (Archaeological and Historical Collections relating to Ayrshire and Galloway, 1890-91)  
The Obit Book of the Church of St John Baptist, Ayr, ed. J. Paterson (Ayr, 1848)  
 'Obituary of the Franciscan Convent', in Spalding Miscellany, i, ed. J. Stuart (Aberdeen, 1841)  
Officers and Graduates of University and King's College, ed. P.J. Anderson (New Spalding Club, 1893)  
Origines Parochiales Scotiae (Bannatyne Club, 1851-55)  
Powis Papers, 1507-1894, ed. J.G. Burnett (Third Spalding Club, 1951)  
Protocol Book of Sir John Cristisone, 1518-51, ed. R.H. Lindsay (Scottish Record Society, 1930)  
Protocol Book of Mark Carruthers (Scottish Record Society, 1956)  
Protocol Book of Sir James Darow (Scottish Antiquary, x-xi)  
Protocol Book of John Foular, 1501-1528, ed. W. Macleod and M. Wood (Scottish Record Society, 1930-53)  
Protocol Book of James Foulis, 1546-1553 (Scottish Record Society, 1927)  
Protocol Book of Sir Alexander Gaw, 1540-1558 (Scottish Record Society, 1910)  
Protocol Book of Mr Gilbert Grote, 1552-1573 (Scottish Record Society, 1914)  
Protocol Books of Dominus Thomas Johnsoun, 1528-1578 (Scottish Record Society, 1920)

- Protocol Book of Sir Robert Rollok, 1534-1552 (Scottish Record Society, 1931)
- Protocol Book of Gavin Ros, 1512-1532 (Scottish Record Society, 1908)
- Protocol Book of Nicol Thounis, 1559-1564 (Scottish Record Society, 1927)
- Protocol Book of James Young, 1485-1515 (Scottish Record Society, 1952)
- Records of Aboyne, 1230-1681 (New Spalding Club, 1894)
- Records of the Burgh of Prestwick (Maitland Club, 1834)
- Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland, ed. J.D. Marwick (Edinburgh, 1866-90)
- The Records of Elgin (New Spalding Club, 1903-08)
- Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeenshire, 3 vols., ed. D. Littlejohn (New Spalding Club, 1904-07)
- Register of the Collegiate Church of Crail (Grampian Club, 1877)
- Register of Ministers, Exhorters and Readers and of their Stipends after the Period of the Reformation (Maitland Club, 1830)
- Registrum Cartarum Ecclesiae Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh (Bannatyne Club, 1859)
- Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, ed. C. Innes, 2 vols. (Spalding and Maitland Clubs, 1845)
- Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis (Bannatyne Club, 1856)
- Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1843)
- Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis (Bannatyne Club, 1837)
- Registrum Honoris de Morton (Bannatyne Club, 1853)
- Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, ed. J.M. Thomson and others, 12 vols. (Edinburgh, 1882-1914)
- Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, ed. M. Livingstone and others, 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1908-)
- Rentale Sancti Andree (Scottish History Society, 1913)
- Rentale Dunkeldense (Scottish History Society, 1915)
- Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum: The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, ed. J. Stewart and others, 23 vols. (Edinburgh, 1878-1908)
- Selections from the records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery and Synod of Aberdeen (Spalding Club, 1846)

J. Spalding: History of the Troubles (Aberdeen, 1829)  
Spalding Club Miscellany, ed. J. Stuart, 5 vols. (Spalding Club, 1842-52)  
Miscellany of the New Spalding Club, 2 vols. (New Spalding Club, 1886)  
St Andrews Formulare, 1514-46, ed. G. Donaldson and C. Macrae (Stair Society, 1942-44)  
 'Statutes and Laws of the Grammar School of Aberdeen', in Spalding Club Miscellany, v, ed. J. Stuart (Aberdeen, 1853)  
Statutes of the Scottish Church, ed. D. Patrick (Scottish History Society, 1907)  
Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia, ed. A. Theiner (Rome, 1864)

#### Secondary Sources: Books and Pamphlets

Aberdeen Art Galleries and Museums: A Tale of Two Burghs: the archaeology of Old and New Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1987)  
 P. Aries: The Hour of Our Death (London, 1981)  
 E. Bain: Merchant and Craft Guilds: a History of the Aberdeen Incorporated Trades (Aberdeen, 1887)  
 D. Breeze (ed.): Studies in Scottish Antiquity (Edinburgh, 1984)  
 J.M. Brown (ed.): Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century (London, 1977)  
 W.H.M. Bryce: The Scottish Grey Friars (London, 1909)  
 J.M. Bulloch: The House of Gordon (Third Spalding Club, 1907)  
 R.G. Cant: The College of St Salvator (St Andrews, 1950)  
 \_\_\_\_: The University of St Andrews (Edinburgh, 1970)  
 \_\_\_\_: The Building of St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1976)  
 J.B. Coissac: Les Universites d'Ecosse . . 1410-1560 (Paris, 1914)  
 G.H. Cook: Mediaeval Chantries and Chantry Chapels (London, 1947)  
 I.B. Cowan: Regional Aspects of the Scottish Reformation (Historical Association, 1978)  
 \_\_\_\_: The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in Sixteenth Century Scotland (London, 1982)  
 W. Cramond: The Church and Churchyard of Cullen (Aberdeen, 1883)

- W. Cramond: The Church and Churchyard of Rathven (Banff, 1885)
- A.G. Dickens: The English Reformation (Glasgow, 1967)
- G. Donaldson: The Scottish Reformation (Cambridge, 1960)
- \_\_\_\_\_: Scotland: Church and Nation through Sixteen Centuries  
(London, 1960)
- J. Dowden: The Mediaeval Church in Scotland (Glasgow, 1910)
- A.I. Dunlop: The Life and Times of James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews (Edinburgh, 1950)
- K. Edwards: The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages  
(Manchester, 1967)
- F.C. Eeles: King's College Chapel, Aberdeen (Edinburgh, 1956)
- H.G. Farmer: A History of Music in Scotland (London, 1947)
- R. Fawcett: Scottish Mediaeval Churches (HMSO, 1985)
- J. Ferguson: Ecclesia Antiqua, or a history of an ancient church, St Michael's, Linlithgow (Linlithgow, 1905)
- T.A. Fischer: The Scots in Germany (Edinburgh, 1902)
- R.S. Fittis: Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth (Edinburgh and Perth, 1885)
- D.H. Fleming: The Reformation in Scotland: Causes, Characteristics, Consequences (Edinburgh, 1910)
- J.A. Fleming: The Medieval Scots Scholar in France (Glasgow, 1952)
- W. Forbes-Leith: Pre-Reformation Scholars in Scotland in the XVI Century - Their Writings and their Public Services  
(Glasgow, 1915)
- G.M. Fraser: Historical Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1904)
- \_\_\_\_\_: The Bridge of Dee (Aberdeen, 1913)
- F.J. Grant: The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland, 1532-1943 (Scottish Record Society)
- J.G. Grant Fleming: The Story of St Mary's Chapel (Aberdeen, 1935)
- J. Huizinga: The Waning of the Middle Ages (London, 1924)
- A. Jacobs (ed.): Choral Music (London, 1963)
- H. de Jongh: L'ancienne Faculte de Theologie de Louvain au premier siecle de son existence (Leuven, 1911)
- A. Keith: A Thousand Years of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1972)
- W. Kelly: A Tribute offered by the University of Aberdeen to the memory of William Kelly, ed. W.D. Simpson (Aberdeen, 1949)



- W. Kennedy: Annals of Aberdeen from the reign of King William the Lion to the end of the year 1818 (London, 1818)
- A. Kreider: English Chantries; the road to dissolution (Harvard UP, 1979)
- H.C. Lea: History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church (London, 1932)
- James Logan: Logan's Collections, ed. J. Cruickshank (Third Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1941)
- J.C. Low: Memorials of the Church of St John Evangelist, the Parish Church of Montrose (Montrose, 1891)
- M. Lynch: Edinburgh and the Reformation (Edinburgh, 1981)
- M. Lynch (ed.): The Early Modern Town in Scotland (1987)
- A.R. McEwan: A History of the Church of Scotland (London, 1913-18)
- L.J. Macfarlane: St Machar's Cathedral in the later Middle Ages (Aberdeen, 1976)
- \_\_\_\_\_: William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland (Aberdeen, 1985)
- \_\_\_\_\_: St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen, and its Medieval Records (Aberdeen, 1987)
- D. Macgibbon & T. Ross: The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1896-97)
- A. Mackenzie: An Ancient Church: The Pre-Reformation Church of St John Baptist of Ayr (Ayr, 1935)
- R.L. Mackie, S. Cruden and R. Fawcett: Arbroath Abbey (HMSO, n.d.)
- J.M. MacKinlay: Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland. Scriptural (Edinburgh, 1910)
- \_\_\_\_\_: Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland. Non-Scriptural (Edinburgh, 1914)
- \_\_\_\_\_: The Influence of the pre-Reformation Church on Scottish Place Names (Edinburgh and London, 1904)
- J. MacQueen: Ballatis of Lufe (Edinburgh, 1970)
- D. McRoberts (ed.): Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1513-1625 (Glasgow, 1962)
- \_\_\_\_\_: The Heraldic Ceiling of St Machar's Cathedral, Old Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1976)
- A. Maxwell: Old Dundee, ecclesiastical, burghal and social, prior to the Reformation (Dundee, 1891)
- E. Meldrum: Aberdeen of Old (Inverness, 1986)

- A.J. Mill: Medieval Plays in Scotland (Oxford, 1927)
- J. Milne: Aberdeen: Topographical, antiquarian and historical papers on the City of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1872)
- A.M. Munro: The Common Good of the City of Aberdeen, 1317-1887 (Aberdeen, 1888)
- \_\_\_\_\_: Memorials of the Aldermen, Provosts and Lord Provosts of Aberdeen, 1272-1895 (Aberdeen, 1897)
- J. C. Murray (ed.): Excavation in the Mediaeval Burgh of Aberdeen 1973-81 (Aberdeen, 1981)
- A.H. Nelson: The Medieval English Stage: Corpus Christi Pageants and Plays (Chicago, 1974)
- R. Nicholson: Scotland: The Later Middle Ages (Edinburgh, 1974)
- W. Orem: A Description of the Chanonry, Cathedral and King's College of Old Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1791)
- G.S. Pryde: Burghs of Scotland (London, 1965)
- R.S. Rait: The Universities of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1895)
- C.A. Raleigh Radford: The Cluniac Abbey of Crossraguel (HMSO, 1970)
- \_\_\_\_\_: Glasgow Cathedral (HMSO, 1970)
- C.A. Raleigh Radford and G. Donaldson: Whithorn and Kirkmadrine (HMSO, 1957)
- John Ramsay: Selected Writings of John Ramsay (Aberdeen, 1871)
- W.E.K. Rankin: The Parish Church of the Holy Trinity, St Andrews (Edinburgh, 1955)
- W. Robbie: Aberdeen, its Traditions and History (Aberdeen, 1893)
- J. Robertson: The History of the Reformation in Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1837)
- J. Robertson: The Book of Bon Accord (Aberdeen, 1839)
- C. Roger: Historical Notices of St Anthony's Monastery, Leith (Grampian Club, 1877)
- M.P. Rooseboom: The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands: an Account of the Trade Relations between Scotland and the Low Countries from 1292 till 1676 (The Hague, 1910)
- M.H.B. Sanderson: Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton c.1494-1546 (Edinburgh, 1986)
- \_\_\_\_\_: Mary Stewart's People (Edinburgh, 1987)
- W. D. Simpson: The Church of the Holy Rude, Stirling (Stirling, 1967)
- A. Smith: A New History of Aberdeenshire, 2 vols. (Aberdeen, 1882)

- J.S. Smith (ed.): New Light on Mediaeval Aberdeen, (Aberdeen University Press, 1985)
- K.A. Steer & J. Bannerman: Late Mediaeval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands (HMSO, 1977)
- D. Stevenson: St Machar's Cathedral and the Reformation (Aberdeen, 1981)
- J.A. Stone (ed.): Three Scottish Carmelite Friaries (Edinburgh, 1989)
- R. Strohm: Music in Late Medieval Bruges (Oxford, 1985)
- C. Thompson & L. Campbell: Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels in Edinburgh (National Galleries of Scotland, 1974)
- A. Walker: List of the Deans of Guild of Aberdeen, from 1436 to 1875 (Aberdeen, 1875)
- W. Walker: The Bards of Bon-Accord, 1375-1860 (Aberdeen, 1887)
- M. Warner: Alone of All Her Sex (London, 1976)
- W. Watt: Aberdeen and Banff (Edinburgh and London, 1900)
- R.L. Wood-Legh: Perpetual Chantries in Britain (Cambridge, 1965)

#### Secondary Works: Articles

- M.R. Apted and W. Norman Robertson: 'Late Fifteenth Century Church Paintings from Guthrie and Foulis Easter', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, xcv, 262, (1961-62)
- J.H. Baxter: 'Scottish Students at Louvain University 1425-1484', Scottish Historical Review, xxv, 327, (1928)
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'Dundee and the Reformation', Abertay Historical Society Publications, vii, (1960)
- T.S.R. Boase: 'King Death: Mortality, Judgement and Remembrance', in The Flowering of the Middle Ages, ed. J. Evans (London, 1966)
- C. Carter: 'The Arma Christi in Scotland', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, xc, 116, (1956-7)
- J. Cooper: 'An Aberdeen Architect of the sixteenth century', Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society, ix, 93-108, (1884)

- I.B. Cowan: 'Church and Society in post-Reformation Scotland', Records of the Scottish Church History Society, xvii, 185-201, (1969-71)
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'The Medieval Church in the diocese of Aberdeen', Northern Scotland, i, 1-18, (1972)
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'The Organisation of Scottish Secular Cathedrals and Chapters', Records of the Scottish Church History Society, xiv, 19-47
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'Church and Society', in Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century, ed. J.M. Brown, (London, 1977)
- J.A. Cripps: 'Establishing the Topography of Mediaeval Aberdeen', in New Light on Mediaeval Aberdeen, ed. J.S. Smith (Aberdeen University Press, 1985)
- J. Durkan: 'Chaplains in Scotland in the Late Middle Ages', Records of the Scottish Church History Society, xx, 91, (1979)
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'Education in the Century of the Reformation', Innes Review, x, 67, (1959)
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'Early Humanism and King's College', Aberdeen University Review, clxiii, (1980)
- D.E. Easson: 'The Collegiate Churches of Scotland', Records of the Scottish Church History Society, vi, 193, (1936-8); vii, 30, (1939-41)
- F.C. Eeles: 'Notes on a Missal formerly used in St Nicholas, Aberdeen', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, xxxiii, 440, (1898-9)
- R. Fawcett: 'Late Gothic Architecture in Scotland: Considerations on the influence of the Low Countries', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, cxii, 477, (1982)
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'Scottish Mediaeval Window Tracery', in Studies in Scottish Antiquity, ed. D. Breeze (Edinburgh, 1984)
- C.H. Haws: 'The Diocese of Aberdeen at the Reformation', Innes Review, xxii, 72-84, (1971)
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'The Diocese of St Andrews at the Reformation', Records of the Scottish Church History Society, xviii, 115-132, (1972)
- G.Hay: 'The Late Medieval Development of the High Kirk of St Giles, Edinburgh', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, cvii, 242

- G. Hill: 'The Sermons of John Watson, Canon of Aberdeen', Innes Review, x, 3, (1959)
- B.L.H. Horn: 'List of References to the pre-Reformation altarages in the parish church of Haddington', Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian Society, x, 55, (1966)
- J. Hunter: 'The Church of St Nicholas, Aberdeen', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, cv, 236, (1972-4)
- W. Kelly: 'St Nicholas' Church, Aberdeen', in The North-East (Aberdeen, 1930)
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'St Machar's Cathedral', Aberdeen Philosophical Society, (1906)
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'Carved Oak from St Nicholas Church, Aberdeen', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, lxviii, 355, (1933-4)
- O.R. Lamond: 'The Scottish Craft Gild as a Religious Fraternity', Scottish Historical Review, xvi, 191, (1919)
- L.J. Macfarlane: 'Some recent research on the Founder of the University', Aberdeen University Review, xxxvi, 225-41, (1956)
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'William Elphinstone's Library', Aberdeen University Review, xxxvii, 233-71, (1958)
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'William Elphinstone, Founder of the University of Aberdeen', Aberdeen University Review, xxxix, 1-18, (1961)
- B. MacLennan: 'The Reformation in the burgh of Aberdeen', Northern Scotland, ii, 119-44, (1974-77)
- W.A. McNeill: 'Scottish Entries in the Acta Rectoria Universitatis Parisiensis 1519-1633', Scottish Historical Review, xliii, 66-9, (1914-15)
- D. McRoberts: 'The Fetternear Banner', Innes Review, vii, 69, (1956)
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'Notes on Scoto-Flemish Artistic Contacts', Innes Review, x, 91, (1965)
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'Scottish Sacrament Houses', Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, xv, 33, (1965)
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'Material destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation', Innes Review, x (1959), 126-72

- A.M. Munro: 'The Chapel of St Ninian's, or the Chapel on the (Castle) Hill', Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society, i, 26
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'Register of Burgesses of Guild and Trade of the Burgh of Aberdeen', Miscellany of the New Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1890)
- A. Oldham: 'Scottish Polyphonic Music', Innes Review, xiii, 54, (1962)
- J.S. Richardson: 'Fragments of Altar Retables of Late Medieval Date in Scotland', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, lxii, 197, (1927-28)
- H. G Slade: 'Aberdeen: The Burgh Kirk of St Nicholas', The Deeside Field, 3rd Series, 2, 64, (1978)
- G. Stell: 'Architecture: the changing needs of society' in Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century, ed. J.M. Brown (London, 1977)
- J. Stuart: 'Notice of the Church of St Congan at Turriff, in Aberdeenshire, and of a Fresco of St Ninian discovered in it in December 1861', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vi, 427-33 (1868)
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'Notice of and Original Instrument ... describing the Miraculous Cure effected upon a Citizen of Aberdeen while on Pilgrimage to the Shrine of St Thomas at Canterbury, ... 1445', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, x, 528-535, (1875)
- A. Walker: 'Notes on a sculptured stone found in ... St Nicholas Church, Aberdeen', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, xii, 199, (1876-8)
- A. White: 'The Reformation in Aberdeen', in New Light on Mediaeval Aberdeen, ed. J.S. Smith (Aberdeen University Press, 1985)
- \_\_\_\_\_: 'The Impact of the Reformation on a burgh community : the case of Aberdeen', in M. Lynch (ed.), The Early Modern Town in Scotland (1987)

## Works of Reference

- G.F. Black: The Surnames of Scotland, Their Origin, Meaning and History (New York, 1962)
- I.B. Cowan: The Parishes of Medieval Scotland (Scottish Record Society, 1967)
- I.B. Cowan and D. Easson: Mediaeval Religious Houses: Scotland (London, 1976)
- J. Durkan and A. Ross: Early Scottish Libraries (Glasgow, 1961)
- C.H. Haws: Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation, 1540-1574 (Scottish Record Society, 1972)
- P. McNeill and R. Nicholson: An Historical Atlas of Scotland, c.400-c.1600 (St Andrews, 1975)
- The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. S. Sadie (London, 1980)
- Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland:  
Inventory ... of Midlothian and West Lothian (HMSO, 1929)  
Inventory ... of Fife, Clackmanan and Kinross (HMSO, 1933)  
Inventory ... of City of Edinburgh (HMSO, 1950)  
Inventory ... of Roxburgh (HMSO, 1956)
- The Scots Peerage, ed. Sir J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1904-14)
- D.E.R. Watt: Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638 (Scottish Record Society, 1969)

## Unpublished Theses

- H. Booton: 'Burgesses and Landed Men in North-East Scotland in the later Middle Ages' (Aberdeen University Ph.D., 1988)
- J. Durkan: 'The Scottish Universities in the Middle Ages, 1413-1560' (Edinburgh University Ph.D., 1949)
- E.L. Ewan: 'The Burgesses of fourteenth century Scotland: a social history' (Edinburgh University Ph.D., 1984)
- A.J. White: 'Religion, Politics and Society in Aberdeen, 1543-1593' (Edinburgh University Ph.D., 1985)

References to Chapter One: Death and Purgatory in Later Mediaeval Scotland

- (1) St Nich. Cart., i, 64
- (2) P. Aries, The Hour of Our Death, 153
- (3) J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, 135
- (4) Poems of Robert Henryson, ed. C. Elliot, 119
- (5) The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. W. Mackay Mackenzie, 20
- (6) ibid., 26, 44, 145, 149, 150, 151
- (7) ibid., 159
- (8) M.R. Apted and W. Norman Robertson, 'Late Fifteenth Century Church Paintings from Guthrie and Foulis Easter', PSAS, (1961-1962), xcv, 264-7, 278-9
- (9) K.A. Steer & J. Bannerman, Late Mediaeval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands, 22, 71, pl.5
- (10) D. McWilliam, The Buildings of Scotland: Lothian, 416, 449, pl.23
- (11) The Poems of William Dunbar, 56
- (12) The Works of Sir David Lindsay, ed. D. Hamer, i, 15, lines 337-350
- (13) John Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome, i, 23/25, 49/33
- (14) The Catechism of John Hamilton, 1552, ed. T.G. Law, 158, 280-81, 284-87
- (15) Rankin, The Parish Church of St Andrews, plate opposite p.32
- (16) CR. vi, 626; Abdn. Reg., ii, 40; St Nich. Cart., ii, 381
- (17) Hist. Mon. Comm. (City of Edinburgh), 26; Ferguson, Ecclesia Antiqua, 21; Rankin, Parish Church of St Andrews, 20
- (18) CR, vii, 190
- (19) St Nich. Cart., i, 50



## References to Chapter Two: The Chantry Chapel in Scotland

- (1) Cowan and Easson, Mediaeval Religious Houses, 86, 61, 84
- (2) ibid., 114-133
- (3) Dryburgh Liber, 58; Melrose Liber, 1, 4
- (4) St Nich. Cart., i, 50
- (5) Abdn. Reg., ii, 280
- (6) St Nich. Cart., i, 15-17
- (7) Author's work in progress.
- (8) H. Booton, 'Economic and Social Change in Later Mediaeval Aberdeen', 46, in New Light on Mediaeval Aberdeen, ed. J.S. Smith; CR, vi, 952
- (9) Bulloch, The House of Gordon, ii, 15, 21, 30-32; St Nich. Cart., i, 17
- (10) CR, v, 312; Abdn. Reg., ii, 315; CR, viii, 153
- (11) Author's work in progress.
- (12) Rankin, The Parish Church of St Andrews, 52
- (13) A. Kreider, English Chantries: the road to dissolution, 9, 13; A.G. Dickens, The English Reformation, 286
- (14) Abdn. Counc., i, 254
- (15) Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland, 153
- (16) Thirds of Benefices, passim
- (17) Hist. Mon. Comm. (Roxburgh), 241 (HMSO, 1956); R.L. Mackie, S. Cruden and R. Fawcett, Arbroath Abbey, 32
- (18) Ferrerius, Ferrerii Historia Abbatum de Kynlos, 28, 31-35, 51, 71, 74-76
- (19) W. Cramond, The Church and Churchyard of Cullen, 37-48
- (20) Aberdeen-Banff Coll., 69-652
- (21) G.H. Cook, Mediaeval Chantries and Chantry Chapels, 43
- (22) Author's work in progress
- (23) Lindores Chartulary, 85
- (24) St Nich. Cart., i, 15, 54
- (25) Irvine Muniments, i, 146
- (26) CR, xii, 565; viii, 520
- (27) SR, i, 764, 765; SR, iii, 159
- (28) SR, iii, 26
- (29) CR, xi, 151

- (30) CR, viii, 872; SR, iii, 79, 84; SR, i, 206, 208
- (31) CR, vi, 890, 902; viii, 428, 429; SR, iii, 84; iii, 324; iv, 20, 72; iii, 66
- (32) St Nich. Cart., ii, 305; SR, ii, 208, 22; St Nich. Cart., ii, 309, 310; SR, ii, 82, 206, 208; St Nich. Cart., ii, 283; Abdn. Reg., i, 282
- (33) SR, i, 617, 623
- (34) CR, viii, 427; SR, ii, 212
- (35) CR, vi, 782, 902, 890
- (36) St Nich. Cart., i, 184, 182
- (37) St Nich. Cart., i, 46, 219
- (38) Abdn. Reg., i, 35
- (39) St Nich. Cart., i, 228
- (40) St Nich. Cart., i, 133
- (41) St Nich. Cart., i, 187
- (42) St Nich. Cart., i, 140
- (43) St Nich. Cart., i, 177
- (44) St Nich. Cart., i, 94
- (45) Exchequer Rolls, xviii, 550
- (46) SR, viii, 78
- (47) St Nich. Cart., i, 110
- (48) St Nich. Cart., i, 20
- (49) St Nich. Cart., i, 92
- (50) St Nich. Cart., i, 37-9
- (51) St Nich. Cart., i, 51-2
- (52) RMS, 201; Cal. Papal Letters, ii, 300
- (53) Fittis, Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth, 309
- (54) Glasgow Univ. Munimenta, i, 33
- (55) Glasgow Registrum, i, 369, 489, 267
- (56) RMS, iii, 1333; v, 68
- (57) RMS, i, 88
- (58) Moray Registrum, 286-8
- (59) RMS, ii, 1469
- (60) RMS, iii, 835
- (61) Abdn. Reg., i, 109
- (62) St Nich. Cart., i, 115
- (63) Abdn. Reg., ii, 1380
- (64) Abdn. Reg., ii, 109

- (65) St Nich. Cart., ii, 307, 309
- (66) Abdn. Reg., ii, 280; CR, v, 810
- (67) RMS, i, 124; SR, iv, 147
- (68) CR, viii, 520
- (69) CR, viii, 412; vi, 164, 165, 30, 952; vii, 554; SR, i, 450; Cal. Papal Letters, vii, 234
- (70) SR, iv, 102, 113; CR, xi, 151
- (71) Spalding Misc., ii, 33; CR, xvi, 229
- (72) SR, iii, 77, 79
- (73) St Nich. Cart., 51, 52, 184; CR, v, 312; St Nich. Cart., i, 174
- (74) Irvine Muniments, i, 146
- (75) St Nich. Cart., i, 115
- (76) SR, i, 179
- (77) St Nich. Cart., i, 83, 79, 94, 33, 36
- (78) CR, x, 332
- (79) St Nich. Cart., x, 332
- (80) St Nich. Cart., i, 144
- (81) St Nich. Cart., i, 87
- (82) St Nich. Cart., i, 83
- (83) Moray Registrum, 320
- (84) RMS, ii, 3820
- (85) CR, vi, 690
- (86) CR, vi, 695
- (87) CR, vi, 741
- (88) Rankin, The Parish Church of St Andrews, 126
- (89) St Nich. Cart., i, 33, 36
- (90) Morton Registrum, ii, 151, 211; Midlothian Chrs., 314
- (91) St Nich. Cart., i, 182
- (92) SR, i, 22
- (93) RMS, ii, 209
- (94) SR, iv, 143; CR, xviii, 52
- (95) SR, iv, 269; CR, xvi, 229
- (96) St Giles Reg., xxx-xxxii; Cowan and Easson, Mediaeval Religious Houses, 220-221; G. Hay, 'The Late Medieval Development of the High Kirk of St Giles, Edinburgh', PSAS, xvii, 242
- (97) CR, vi, 30

- (98) St Nich. Cart., i, 16, 20, 184, 99; SR, iv, 178; CR, vi, 695
- (99) CR, vi, 361
- (100) St Nich. Cart., i, 64, 36
- (101) Rankin, The Parish Church of St Andrews, 138
- (102) St Nich. Cart., i, 17, 56
- (103) St Nich. Cart., i, 19; CR, vi, 952; Cal. Papal Letters, viii, 234; St Nich. Cart., i, 37-9
- (104) CR, viii, 412, 542, 608
- (105) St Nich. Cart., i, 17
- (106) St Nich. Cart., i, 43, 51
- (107) RMS, ii, 3335; iii, 2721; Protocol Bk. Carruthers, 151

References to Chapter Three: The Structural Development of St Nicholas'

- (1) Abdn. Reg., i, 5
- (2) J. Cripps, Establishing the Topography of Medieval Aberdeen, 14, in New Light on Medieval Aberdeen
- (3) James Gordon, Description of Bothe Touns of Aberdene, 14
- (4) E. Meldrum, Aberdeen of Old, 166; A. Walker, Notes on a sculptured stone found in the South Transept of St Nicholas Church, PSAS, 1877, 199-201
- (5) Kelly, 'St Nicholas' Church', 87
- (6) J. Hunter, The Church of St Nicholas of Aberdeen, PSAS, 1974, 236-247
- (7) Kelly, 'St Nicholas' Church', 87; H.G. Slade, Aberdeen: The Burgh Kirk of St Nicholas, 71, in The Deeside Field, 1978
- (8) Selected Writings of John Ramsay, 1871, 207
- (9) Kelly, St Nicholas' Church, 87-90
- (10) Hunter, St Nicholas', 240
- (11) Abdn. Reg., i, 35
- (12) St Nich. Cart., i, 12-18
- (13) St Nich. Cart., i, 16
- (14) Boece, Vitae Episcoporum, 19-20
- (15) St Nich. Cart., i, 16
- (16) CR, iv, 411
- (17) St Nich. Cart., i, 176; ii, 374
- (18) R.G. Cant, The Building of St Machar's Cathedral, 5-6
- (19) R. Fawcett, Scottish Mediaeval Churches, 55-57; C.A. Raleigh Radford, Crossraguel Abbey, 8 (HMSO, 1970)
- (20) S. Cruden, Scottish Mediaeval Churches, 183-84
- (21) Cowan and Easson, Mediaeval Religious Houses,
- (22) CR, v, 655, 668
- (23) Kelly, St Nicholas' Church, 91; J.G. Grant Fleming, The Story of St Mary's Chapel, 8; Bulloch, The House of Gordon, ii, 15, 21, 30-32
- (24) St Nich. Cart., i, 16
- (25) St Nich. Cart., i, 131, 169
- (26) Abdn. Reg., i, 380; ii, 109

- (27) CR, v, 767, 779
- (28) CR, vi, 317
- (29) CR, vi, 480
- (30) St Nich. Cart., i, 16, 17
- (31) CR, vi, 341; St Nich. Cart., ii, 386
- (32) CR, v, 647
- (33) CR, v, 743, 765
- (34) Dundee Chrs., 19
- (35) D. McWilliam, Buildings of Scotland: Lothian, 232; 284-290
- (36) W. Douglas Simpson, The Church of the Holy Rood, Stirling, 12
- (37) CR, vi, 480, 702
- (38) CR, vi, 480, 499, 516
- (39) CR, vi, 541
- (40) CR, vi, 916
- (41) CR, viii, 23, 44, 45, 98
- (42) CR, vii, 846
- (43) CR, vii, 28
- (44) CR, vii, 797
- (45) CR, vi, 959
- (46) CR, vii, 523
- (47) Abdn. Counc., 56; F.C. Eeles, 'Notes on a Missal formerly used in St Nicholas, Aberdeen', PSAS, xxxiii, 440 (1898-99)
- (48) CR, viii, 686, 777, 811, 823; SR, iii, 32; CR, viii, 894; W. Kelly, 'Carved Oak from St Nicholas Church, Aberdeen', PSAS, lxviii, 355 (1933-34)
- (49) CR, vii, 1043; viii, 611, 737, 742
- (50) CR, viii, 915
- (51) CR, viii, 1114
- (52) CR, viii, 1150
- (53) CR, viii, 1154
- (54) St Nich. Cart., ii, 445
- (55) R. Fawcett, Late Gothic Architecture in Scotland: Considerations on the Influence of the Low Countries, PSAS, cxii, 477-96 (1982)
- (56) Fittis, Ecclesiastical Annals, 317
- (57) CR, xii, 209
- (58) M. Lynch, Edinburgh and the Reformation, 176, 233
- (59) Treasurer's Accts., iii, 89, 273, 275

- (60) Dunkeld Rentale, 82
- (61) Dunkeld Rentale., 110, 213, 216
- (62) CR, vii, 206, 463
- (63) Aberdeenshire Court Book, i, 102-104
- (64) CR, ix, 210
- (65) Abdn. Counc., i, 86; CR, ix, 285
- (66) CR, ix, 336-7
- (67) CR, xii, 252
- (68) CR, xii, 715; (J. Robertson), The Book of Bon Accord, 52 (Aberdeen, 1839)
- (69) St Nich. Cart., ii, 386
- (70) CR, x, 33
- (71) R. Fawcett, Scottish Mediaeval Window Tracery, 171, in Studies in Scottish Antiquity, ed. D.J. Breeze (Edinburgh, 1984)
- (72) H.G. Slade, Aberdeen: The Burgh Kirk of St Nicholas, 74, in The Deeside Field, 1978
- (73) CR, xiii, 248, 327
- (74) CR, xiii, 437
- (75) Aberdeen-Banff Coll., 206
- (76) CR, xv, 479
- (77) CR, xvi, 51
- (78) CR, xvi, 155
- (79) CR, xvi, 582
- (80) CR, xvi, 641
- (81) CR, xvi, 764; Spalding Misc., ii, 33
- (82) Ayr Burgh Accts.; Edinburgh Burgh Accts.
- (83) CR, xvii, 92; xix, 195, 231; xxiii, 245
- (84) CR, v, 758; SR, i, 980
- (85) CR, xii, 179
- (86) A Tale of Two Burghs, 11; CR, vi, 708
- (87) R. Strohm, Music in Late Mediaeval Bruges, 65, 131
- (88) Froissart's Chronicles, ed. J. Joliffe, 265 (London, 1948)
- (89) CR, vii, 277, 306, 408, 505
- (90) CR, xi, 695, 708, 715
- (91) CR, xiv, 31
- (92) Apted and Robertson, 'Late Fifteenth Century Church Paintings from Guthrie and Foulis Easter', PSAS, xcv, 262

- (93) C. Thompson and L. Campbell, Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels in Edinburgh (National Galleries of Scotland, 1974)
- (94) Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 334-5
- (95) Rentale Dunkeldense, 2-3
- (96) CR, xii, 309, 317
- (97) Abdn. Counc., i, 18
- (98) St Nich. Cart., ii, 375



References to Chapter 4: Other Churches and Chapels of New Aberdeen

- (1) Aberdeen Friars; Bryce, Grey Friars
- (2) Cowan and Easson, Mediaeval Religious Houses, 108; Abdn. Reg., ii, 280; CR, v, 810
- (3) Cowan and Easson, Mediaeval Religious Houses, 116; RMS, i, 174
- (4) SR, iv, 147
- (5) St Nich. Cart., ii, 20
- (6) Exchequer Rolls, i, 12
- (7) Cowan and Easson, Mediaeval Religious Houses, 156
- (8) Abdn. Counc., i, 181, 309
- (9) St Nich. Cart., i, 113
- (10) Gordon, Description, 17
- (11) Macfarlane, Geographical Coll., i, 481, 485; Stone, Scottish Carmelite Friaries, 32
- (12) CR, xix, 258
- (13) CR, viii, 194; St Nich. Cart., i, 17, 43, 52
- (14) CR, vii, 43, 915; viii, 92; x, 178; xi, 117, 571; SR, ii, 464; St Nich. Cart., i, 177
- (15) Cowan and Easson, Mediaeval Religious Houses, 135; Stone, Scottish Carmelite Friaries
- (16) Cowan and Easson, Mediaeval Religious Houses, 168
- (17) Cowan and Easson, Mediaeval Religious Houses, 169
- (18) Abdn. Reg., ii, 283
- (19) CR, x, 154; Cowan and Easson, Mediaeval Religious Houses, 168
- (20) Abdn. Reg., ii, 213
- (21) CR, ix, 156
- (22) CR, xii, 132; xv, 705
- (23) St Nich. Cart., ii, 374
- (24) Gordon, Description, 18
- (25) CR, v, 375; St Nich. Cart., i, 156
- (26) Ecclesiastical Records of Aberdeen, 20
- (27) Ecclesiastical Records of Aberdeen, 23
- (28) Ecclesiastical Records of Aberdeen, 34
- (29) Cowan and Easson, Mediaeval Religious Houses, 168

- (30) St Nich. Cart., i, 155
- (31) St Nich. Cart., i, 158
- (32) Abdn. Reg., i, 154; Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations, iii, 239
- (33) CR, vi, 653
- (34) CR, xix, 106
- (35) CR, v, 375
- (36) St Nich. Cart., i, 156
- (37) CR, vii, 930; Macfarlane, Geographical Collections, 482
- (38) Spalding Misc., v, 23
- (39) G.M. Fraser, The Bridge of Dee, 7; Spalding Misc., v, 15
- (40) Arbroath Liber, ii, 173, 182; SR, i, 894; RMS, ii, 2292
- (41) SR, i, 901
- (42) SR, iii, 407
- (43) CR, viii, 489; xii, 403; xi, 373
- (44) Cowan and Easson, Mediaeval Religious Houses, 130
- (45) CR, vii, 500
- (46) CR, xi, 609
- (47) Aberdeen Burgh Chrs., 332
- (48) Cowan and Easson, Mediaeval Religious Houses, 130
- (49) Aberdeen Burgh Chrs., 10, 12
- (50) Kennedy, Annals of Aberdeen, i, 26
- (51) RMS, ii, 2185
- (52) CR, vii, 500
- (53) Abdn. Counc., i, 53; Aberdeen Burgh Chrs., 35
- (54) Abdn. Counc., i, 52
- (55) RMS, ii, 2256
- (56) Exchequer Rolls, x, 462; xi, 335\*
- (57) St Nich. Cart., i, 219
- (58) Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 255
- (59) A.M. Munro, St Ninian's, or the Chapel on the Castle Hill, Aberdeen Ecclesiol. Trans., i, 25; CR, xvi, 807; SR, iv, 283
- (60) CR, ix, 341; x, 335; xi, 519; xvii, 39; White, Thesis, 81
- (61) Cal. Scot. Supp., ii, 169
- (62) CR, v, 808
- (63) Boece, Vitae, 98-9
- (64) G.M. Fraser, Bridge of Dee; Abdn. Counc., i, 116-18, 126-27

- (65) CR, xiii, 33
- (66) CR, xiii, 95, 112
- (67) St Nich. Cart., ii, 374
- (68) RMS, iv, 548
- (69) Macfarlane, Geographical Collections, i, 484

References to Chapter Five: The College of St Nicholas'

- (1) D. Easson, *The Collegiate Churches of Scotland*, RSCHS, vi, 202; Cowan and Easson, Mediaeval Religious Houses, 214, 220, 222, 224, 227
- (2) St Nich. Cart., i, 213
- (3) CR, vi, 626
- (4) CR, vi, 419
- (5) RMS, ii, 2033
- (6) MSS Dean of Gild Account (Printed in Spalding Miscellany, v, 48)
- (7) CR, viii, 777
- (8) St Nich. Cart., i, 257, 259
- (9) St Nich. Cart., ii, 252, 381
- (10) St Nich. Cart., ii, 252
- (11) CR, v, 721
- (12) CR, v, 775
- (13) CR, v, 808
- (14) St Nich. Cart., i, 255
- (15) CR, xii, 715
- (16) St Nich. Cart., i, 259
- (17) St Nich. Cart., i, 260
- (18) St Nich. Cart., i, 253
- (19) CR, xii, 475
- (20) St Nich. Cart., i, 263
- (21) St Nich. Cart., i, 255
- (22) St Nich. Cart., i, 253, 153, 132, 196
- (23) St Nich. Cart., i, 213, 240
- (24) St Nich. Cart., i, 135; SR, iv, 98
- (25) Cramond, The Church and Churchyard of Cullen, 34; Peebles Chrs., 61; St Andrews Formulare, ii, 172; Cowan and Easson, Mediaeval Religious Houses, 222
- (26) St Nich. Cart., ii, 381
- (27) Abdn. Reg., ii, 114
- (28) CR, xviii, 253

- (29) CR, xix, 127; Spalding Misc., ii, 34, 45; St Nich. Cart., i, 276;
- (30) CR, xxii, 441
- (31) CR, xxiii, 36

References to Chapter Six: The Burgh of Aberdeen and the Parish Church of St Nicholas'

- (1) CR, viii, 878
- (2) Rankin, The Parish Church of St Andrews, 7
- (3) Peebles Chrs., 21
- (4) CR, viii, 399
- (5) CR, vi, 164, 165
- (6) CR, vi, 191; vii, 554; SR, i, 450
- (7) CR, ix, 593, 601
- (8) CR, v, 822; vi, 163
- (9) CR, viii, 608; xi, 189, 340
- (10) CR, xiv, 76
- (11) CR, xv, 428; xix, 407
- (12) A. Mackenzie, An Ancient Church, 37; Ayr Obit Bk., x
- (13) CR, vi, 541
- (14) CR, x, 259; xi, 47
- (15) CR, xi, 12, 281, 378
- (16) CR, xi, 144
- (17) CR, v, 683
- (18) Abdn. Counc., i, 24
- (19) CR, v, 829; vii, 292; viii, 508; xi, 206
- (20) CR, xiv, 323
- (21) SR, ii, 172, 191
- (22) CR, v, 715
- (23) G. Hill, The Sermons of John Watson, Canon of Aberdeen, IR, xv, 3
- (24) CR, xiv, 283
- (25) CR, xiv, 283
- (26) CR, xiv, 283
- (27) Abdn. Counc., i, 235
- (28) CR, vii, 209; xi, 91
- (29) CR, vi, 30
- (30) CR, vi, 361
- (31) CR, xix, 322

- (32) CR, xx, 403
- (33) CR, xxii, 209
- (34) Ferguson, Ecclesia Antiqua, 46
- (35) CR, xii, 714
- (36) Spalding Misc., v, 15
- (37) CR, v, 808
- (38) CR, viii, 1045
- (39) CR, ix, 169
- (40) CR, xiii, 249
- (41) CR, xiv, 188
- (42) CR, xv, 257
- (43) CR, x, 258
- (44) CR, xi, 561
- (45) CR, xiii, 39
- (46) Abdn. Counc., i, 234
- (47) Abdn. Counc., i, 240, 244
- (48) CR, xix, 97
- (49) CR, xix, 304
- (50) Abdn. Counc., i, 275
- (51) Abdn. Counc., i, 274
- (52) CR, xii, 714; xv, 218
- (53) CR, x, 335
- (54) Ayr Burgh Accts., 106, 129
- (55) CR, xv, 433
- (56) Abdn. Counc., i, 112

## References to Chapter Seven: Fraternities and Popular Devotion

- (1) Glasgow Registrum, i, no.76
- (2) Fittis, Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth, 316
- (3) Rankin, Parish Church of St Andrews, 57, 96-98
- (4) C. Roger, St Anthony's Monastery at Leith, 9, 16-19 (1877)
- (5) Edinburgh Burgh Recs., i, 9, 29
- (6) CR, xii, 209; xvii, 113
- (7) Fittis, Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth, 304, 308; RMS, ii, 197
- (8) Holyrood Liber, 290
- (9) Laing Chrs., 562
- (10) R. Lamond, The Scottish Craft Gild as a Religious Fraternity, SHR, xvi, 191 (1919)
- (11) Edinburgh Burgh Recs., i, 12; ii, 64, 78; RMS, iii, 1309; Laing Chrs., 562; Holyrood Liber, 290
- (12) Fittis, Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth, 304, 306-08; Thirds of Beneficies, 16
- (13) Rankin, Parish Church of St Andrews, 70-71, 77-8
- (14) Ferguson, Ecclesia Antiqua, 317, 325, 328
- (15) Stirling Recs., 15, 28
- (16) RMS, iii, 1309
- (17) Stirling Recs., 1, 3
- (18) RMS, iii, 145
- (19) RMS, ii, 1456; iii, 996
- (20) RSS, ii, 1303
- (21) Stirling Recs., 16
- (22) CR, v, 452
- (23) St Nich. Cart., ii, 377
- (24) St Nich. Cart., ii, 333
- (25) SR, i, 450
- (26) CR, vii, 554
- (27) SR, i, 671; CR, viii, 90, 504
- (28) CR, viii, 405, 538
- (29) CR, viii, 194, 845
- (30) SR, iv, 20; CR, vii, 1073



- (31) SR, iv, 21
- (32) CR, viii, 702; SR, iv, 80
- (33) SR, iv, 80
- (34) CR, x, 25; xiii, 36; xvi, 781; xix, 277
- (35) CR, xviii, 504, 540; xix, 301
- (36) SR, viii, 391; St Nich. Cart., ii, 377; Treasurer Accts, ii, 119, 154, 155
- (37) CR, x, 112; St Nich. Cart., i, 107
- (38) CR, vii, 660, 855; viii, 82; SR, i, 617, 623; iii, 370
- (39) CR, v, 771; vi, 952; xii, 209; xvii, 113; Aberdeen Burgh Recs., 189
- (40) St Nich. Cart., i, 260
- (41) SR, i, 901; iii, 407; CR, viii, 489; xii, 403; xi, 373
- (42) CR, xiv, 606
- (43) CR, viii, 484
- (44) RMS, ii, 2317; Fittis, Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth, 302
- (45) Fittis, Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth, 302
- (46) RMS, iii, 2600; Laing Chrs., 338
- (47) Dunlop, Bishop Kennedy, 135
- (48) e.g. Abdn. Reg., i, 333-34; Dunkeld Rentale, 239; Dunfermline Gild Court Bk., 35; Fittis, Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth, 302, 316, 318, 320; Glasgow Registrum, i, 446; Glasgow Univ. Munimenta, i, 21; Laing Chrs., 418; Mackenzie, An Ancient Church, 30; Prot. Bk. Foular, 1528-34, 63; RMS, ii, 1596, 1813, 2317, 2325, 2333, 2618, 3010; iii, 491, 682, 1142, 1146, 2600; iv, 1611, 2815; Thirds of Benefices, 19
- (49) RMS, i, 831, 916; St Nich. Cart., i, 42
- (50) CR, iv, 411
- (51) CR v, 222; SR, iii, 382
- (52) CR, vii, 209; St Nich. Cart., i, 94
- (53) CR, v, 758
- (54) CR, vi, 450
- (55) R. Strohm, Music in Late Mediaeval Bruges, 47; Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 232

- (56) M. Warner, Alone of All Her Sex, 215-21; CR, iv, 411; RMS, ii, 2723, 2579; iv, 1011; Prot. Bk. Foular, i, 144; Inchcolm Charters, 187; Rankin, Parish Church of St Andrews, 57
- (57) RMS, iii, 356
- (58) Abdn. Counc., i, 395
- (59) Abdn. Counc., i, 425
- (60) Abdn. Counc., i, 449, 450
- (61) Abdn. Counc., i, 9
- (62) Abdn. Counc., i, 483, 186
- (63) Fittis, Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth, 121
- (64) Abdn. Counc., i, 432
- (65) Abdn. Counc., i, 438
- (66) Abdn. Counc., i, 542
- (67) Abdn. Counc., i, 14
- (68) Abdn. Counc., i, 180
- (69) Abdn. Counc., i, 279
- (70) Abdn. Counc., i, 429
- (71) Abdn. Counc., i, 435
- (72) Abdn. Counc., i, 452
- (73) Abdn. Counc., i, 445
- (74) Fittis, Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth, 119, 122

References to Chapter Eight: a) The Sang and Grammar Schools of Aberdeen

- (1) CR, vii, 14
- (2) CR, iv, 118
- (3) CR, v, 771; vi, 790
- (4) CR, v, 734; vi, 981; viii, 541, 545; vii, 60; x, 33; xxii, 441; New Grove, ii, 769
- (5) J. MacQueen, Ballatis of Lufe, xxx-xxxii
- (6) CR, vii, 14
- (7) CR, xix, 161
- (8) F.C. Eeles, King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, 217
- (9) CR, xix, 65
- (10) CR, ix, 646; xii, 387; xi, 488; xvi, 144
- (11) CR, viii, 1046; xii, 545
- (12) CR, vii, 1073; SR, i, 961
- (13) Treasurer Accts., viii, 151
- (14) CR, vi, 495; Abdn. Reg., ii, 96
- (15) CR, viii, 572
- (16) CR, x, 295; xi, 127; St A. Acta., 349
- (17) J. Durkan, 'Education in the Century of the Reformation', Innes Review, x, 67; Prot. Bk. Foular, 1528-32, no.388; St Giles Registrum, 254;
- (18) CR, xii, 136
- (19) CR, xii, 527
- (20) J. Durkan, 'Education in the Century of the Reformation', Innes Review, x, 71
- (21) Edinburgh Burgh Recs., 1528-1554, 176
- (22) Peebles Chrs., 183
- (23) CR, vi, 496; ix, 462; xvi, 785
- (24) Abdn. Reg., ii, 45; Abdn. Counc., i, 4; SR, ii, 154
- (25) Paris Uni. Auctarium, ii, 101,7; 104,14; 106,5; St A. Acta, 1, 5
- (26) St A. Acta, 57; CR, v, 681
- (27) Paris Uni. Auctarium, iii, 542,25; SR, i, 696
- (28) SR, iii, 143; CR, viii, 971

- (29) CR, xii, 571; CR, xvi, 108, 112; Abdn. Counc., i, 276; White, Thesis, 104
- (30) Abdn. Fasti, 271; Abdn. Counc., i, 277, 306, 366; CR, xxiii, 183
- (31) W.A. McNeill, 'Scottish Entries in the Acta Rectoria Universitatis Parisiensis', SHR, xliii, 76
- (32) CR, iv, 131; viii, 352; vi, 545; viii, 877; CPL, xiv, 267; St Nich. Cart., i, 198; Paris Uni. Auctarium, iii, 542,25; CR, xi, 652; xii, 95; SR, iv, 55
- (33) Abdn. Counc., i, 266
- (34) CR, xiv, 402
- (35) CR, vii, 1073; viii, 240, 256, 509

References to Chapter Eight: b) Graduates

- (1) St Nich. Cart., i, 182; St A. Acta, 19, 20
- (2) St A. Acta, 59
- (3) Louvain, ii, 53,30
- (4) Fischer, The Scots in Germany, 313
- (5) Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 363
- (6) Paris Uni. Auctarium, ii, 924,11; 931,3 n.2; 338,43; vi, 330,26 n.8; 351,11; 353,36
- (7) SR, i, 920; ii, 336
- (8) Paris Uni. Auctarium, vi, 412,25; 428,27; iii, 130,14
- (9) Paris Uni. Auctarium, iii, 542,27 n.10; vi, 600,29; 628,7; iii, 542,25; 605,46; 607,36; vi, 600,23; 619,33; 628,38; Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 221, 321, 322
- (10) Paris Uni. Auctarium, vi, 723,20 n.3; 737,3; 740,40; vi, 715,26 n.4; 738,37
- (11) Köln, ii, 495,51
- (12) Köln, i, 219,68
- (13) Köln, ii, 380,110; Louvain, iii, 310,261
- (14) Louvain, ii, 772/148
- (15) CR, v, 681; vi, 131; St A. Acta, 57
- (16) St A. Acta, 81, 90, 91
- (17) St A. Acta, 321, 326
- (18) Glasgow Univ. Munimenta, ii, 100
- (19) Glasgow Univ. Munimenta, ii, 90, 233; St Nich. Cart., ii, 307
- (20) St A. Acta, 312, 318; Glasgow Univ. Munimenta, ii, 149, 150, 151, 154
- (21) Eeles, King's College Chapel, 136-145, 165
- (22) SR, ii, 21, 417
- (23) SR, ii, 224
- (24) Abdn. Fasti, 271
- (25) CR, xi, 543; xiii, 220
- (26) Aberdeen University MS M 390/13/140; CR, xv, 528-9; RMS, iii, 139
- (27) Aberdeen University MS M 390/12/42; Abdn. Fasti, 76; A. B. Ill., 334
- (28) RMS, iii, 78

- (29) Glasgow Univ. Munimenta, i, 17; also RMS, iv, 2246; Prot. Bk. Carruthers, 96
- (30) St Nich. Cart., ii, 301, 302
- (31) St Nich. Cart., ii, 305, 306
- (32) St Nich. Cart., ii, 312; SR, ii, 208
- (33) Aberdeen University MSS, OCC 26/4, OCC 2/8-11
- (34) CR, ix, 593, 597, 601
- (35) St Nich. Cart., ii, 307, 309
- (36) St Nich. Cart., ii, 309, 310
- (37) Abdn. Counc., i, 121
- (38) CR, xix, 70
- (39) CR, viii, 240, 339
- (40) CR, viii, 349, 489; SR, i, 696
- (41) Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 221, 321
- (42) Macfarlane, Elphinstone, 322; CR, ix, 264
- (43) Abdn. Fasti, 76
- (44) Abdn. Fasti, 264
- (45) Eeles, King's College Chapel, 154-187
- (46) Eeles, King's College Chapel, 174
- (47) Abdn. Fasti, 114, 121, 122
- (48) CR, xi, 178, 226
- (49) SR, iv, 104; CR, xi, 552; xiv, 218
- (50) CR, xi, 273-4
- (51) CR, xv, 31, 49
- (52) CR, xii, 611; RMS, iii, 951; Abdn. Fasti, 114
- (53) St Nich. Cart., ii, 285
- (54) Based upon compilation of names from; Rankin, Parish Church of St Andrews, passim
- (55) A. Maxwell, Old Dundee; Scrymgeour Inventory: both passim
- (56) Peebles Chrs.; Peebles Recs.: passim
- (57) St Giles Registrum; Prot. Bk. Foular; Prot. Bk. Young; Prot. Bk. Rollock; Fittis, Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth; Dunfermline Burgh Recs.; Dunfermline Gild Court Bk.; Prot. Bk. Darow: all passim
- (58) Ferguson, Ecclesia Antiqua; Prot. Bk. Foulis; Prot. Bk. Johnson; Prot. Bk. Thounis: both passim
- (59) CR, xi, 495; Moray Registrum, 398, 402
- (60) Abdn. Fasti, 271

- (61) CR, viii, 520  
(62) White, Thesis, 143; Abdn. Counc., i, 236

References to Chapter Eight: c) Kinship and Patronage in the Burgh Kirk

- (1) K.L. Wood-Legh, Perpetual Chantries in Britain, 183
- (2) A.R. MacEwen, A History of the Church in Scotland, 319
- (3) St Nich. Cart., i, 87
- (4) St Nich. Cart., i, 33
- (5) SR, iii, 289
- (6) SR, i, 875; CR, xxiii, 222; SR, i, 208, 907
- (7) SR, iii, 187; CR, xi, 429; St Nich. Cart., i, 174; ii, 304
- (8) SR, iv, 40; Aberdeen University MS 3043
- (9) St Giles Registrum, 126, 194
- (10) Glasgow Univ. Munimenta, i, 52
- (11) St Nich. Cart., i, 57, 272
- (12) St Nich. Cart., i, 33, 143
- (13) SR, iii, 234; St Nich. Cart., ii, 283
- (14) CR, xiv, 218; SR, iii, 392
- (15) SR, ii, 21; iv, 16; CR, xiii, 65; St Nich. Cart., i, 247
- (16) CR, vi, 488; SR, i, 906
- (17) CR, xiii, 309; xv, 528-9
- (18) Abdn. Chrs., 234; Marischal College MS M 390/9/17; Spalding Misc., i, 69 ; CR, xii, 95; ix, 603
- (19) Marischal College MS 390/12/67; RMS, iii, 456, 1597
- (20) B.L.H. Horn, 'List of References to the Pre-Reformation altarages in the parish church of Haddington', Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian Society, x, 55 (1966)
- (21) RMS, iii, 2280
- (22) Peebles Chrs., 126
- (23) CR, viii, 878
- (24) CR, viii, 405; Paris Uni. Auctarium, iii, 542, 27 n.10
- (25) CR, xix, 26
- (26) CR, xi, 652; xii, 95; SR, ix, 55
- (27) Paris Uni. Auctarium, iii, 542, 65; Cal. Pap. Letters, xiv, 267; St Nich. Cart., i, 198
- (28) CR, viii, 808
- (29) CR, xxii, 441
- (30) CR, v, 806



- (31) Peebles Chrs., 11; Ferguson, Ecclesia Antiqua, 45, n.2
- (32) Peebles Chrs., 55
- (33) Prot. Bk. Simon, ii, 15
- (34) CR, xvi, 229; SR, iv, 234
- (35) SR, i, 226
- (36) SR, i, 226
- (37) CR, viii, 90, 504
- (38) CR, viii, 405, 538
- (39) CR, xii, 545
- (40) CR, ii, 208
- (41) CR, viii, 1179; x, 2
- (42) SR, iii, 397
- (43) SR, iv, 269; Abdn. Counc., i, 189
- (44) CR, viii, 538
- (45) CR, viii, 842; SR, iii, 66
- (46) CR, xi, 151
- (47) CR, xv, 479
- (48) CR, ix, 391
- (49) SR, ii, 21
- (50) St Nich. Cart., i, 213; CR, x, 332
- (51) CR, viii, 427
- (52) SR, iii, 190
- (53) CR, ix, 651
- (54) Stirling Recs., 70
- (55) Edinburgh Burgh Recs., iii, 12
- (56) Peebles Recs., 256
- (57) Marischal College MS 390/12/67
- (58) Aberdeenshire Court Bk., i, 70; SR, i, 467; iii, 405
- (59) CR, vii, 757; SR, ii, 84, 164; CR, viii, 302, 334
- (60) Abdn. Fasti, 271
- (61) SR, ii, 21; CR, x, 322; Aberdeen University MS M 390/12/66
- (62) St Nich. Cart., i, 87
- (63) Arbroath Liber, ii, 315
- (64) Bulloch, The House of Gordon, ii, 30
- (65) SR, ii, 102
- (66) Aberdeen University MS 3043
- (67) SR, viii, 193
- (68) Prot. Bk. Grote, 152-4

- (69) St Giles Reg., 194
- (70) CR, viii, 194; RSS, i, 1142
- (71) SR, iii, 26
- (72) G. Donaldson, Scotland: Church and Nation through Sixteen Centuries, 43

References to Chapter Eight: d) The Chaplains of St Nicholas' outwith  
the Church

- (1) CR, vii, 757; SR, ii, 84
- (2) CR, xii, 637; xiii, 4
- (3) RMS, ii, 1463
- (4) CR, xii, 353
- (5) Abdn. Counc., i, 104
- (6) CR, vii, 594, 798; viii, 194; x, 3, 33; SR, vii, 55
- (7) SR, iv, 117; vii, 18, 19
- (8) CR, xi, 543; Aberdeen University MS M 390/13/14
- (9) CR, xviii, 399; Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 414, 417
- (10) Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 90; SR, iii, 10; iv, 104; CR, xi, 552;  
xiv, 218; Abdn. Reg., ii, 212
- (11) Moray Registrum, 372; RSS, ii, 266
- (12) Cameron, Apostolic Camera, 272
- (13) CR, vi, 798; SR, i, 110
- (14) SR, iv, 16; Watt, Fasti, 279, 288; RSS, i, 3478, 3554
- (15) RSS, i, 3057
- (16) SR, viii, 336
- (17) RSS, iii, 2126
- (18) SR, iv, 79
- (19) CR, xi, 340
- (20) CR, vi, 154
- (21) CR, viii, 1012
- (22) SR, iii, 26
- (23) CR, vi, 782
- (24) Rankin, Parish Church of St Andrews, 126; RMS, ii, 1302, 1305;  
SR, i, 164
- (25) RMS, v, 756
- (26) CR, vii, 418
- (27) SR, iv, 143
- (29) CR, viii, 600
- (30) SR, iv, 83, 84
- (31) CR, x, 389

- (32) A.M. Munro, The Common Good of the City of Aberdeen, 18
- (33) CR, vii, 614
- (34) CR, viii, 673
- (35) SR, iv, 78; CR, x, 325, 332
- (36) CR, xii, 363, 374; Abdn. Counc., i, 181, 309
- (37) CR, vii, 660; viii, 82; St Nich. Cart., ii, 377
- (38) CR, xiv, 37
- (39) CR, vi, 227, 232
- (40) CR, vi, 631
- (41) CR, x, 259
- (42) Works of Sir David Lindsay, ed. D. Hamer, ii, 124
- (43) Patrick, Statutes, 89-94
- (44) Brechin Registrum, i, 226, 231
- (45) Hay Fleming, The Reformation in Scotland, App. B, 540
- (46) CR, xviii, 91; xix, 26; Aberdeenshire Court Bk., i, 465, 467;  
RSS, i, 1142
- (47) RSS, ii, 266, 877; iv, 1629, 1650, 2759, 3349; RMS, iii, 214
- (48) RSS, iv, 620
- (49) SR, ii, 461
- (50) SR, iv, 78
- (51) CR, xiv, 76
- (52) CR, xxii, 166
- (53) Ferguson, Ecclesia Antiqua, 40n.
- (54) St Nich. Cart., 56; SR, iii, 190
- (55) CR, v, 59; vii, 686; SR, i, 663
- (56) CR, xviii, 130
- (57) CR, v, 808

References to Chapter Nine: St Nicholas' and the Reformation

- (1) Abdn. Counc., i, 110-111
- (2) Abdn. Counc., i, 97; I.B. Cowan, The Scottish Reformation, 215
- (3) Abdn. Counc., i, 153, 211
- (4) Abdn. Counc., i, 189; M.H.B. Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, 280
- (5) Abdn. Counc., i, 323; White, Thesis, 167; I.B. Cowan, The Scottish Reformation, 100
- (6) White, Thesis, 33ff.
- (7) White, Thesis, 129
- (8) White, Thesis, 130
- (9) Abdn. Reg., i, 61-5; Spalding Misc., iv, 57-9
- (10) Abdn. Counc., i, 323
- (11) Abdn. Counc., i, 325
- (12) Abdn. Counc., i, 325-6; Abdn. Chrs., 332
- (13) Abdn. Counc., i, 315
- (14) Abdn. Counc., i, 316-7
- (15) Abdn. Counc., i, 317-9
- (16) Abdn. Counc., i, 319-21
- (17) Abdn. Counc., i, 321
- (18) White, Thesis, 163-64, 168-9
- (19) D.H. Fleming, The Reformation in Scotland, 320-1
- (20) White, Thesis, 203
- (21) Abdn. Counc., i, 328-30, 344
- (22) Abdn. Counc., i, 330; Abdn. Chrs., 230
- (23) St Nich. Cart., i, 378
- (24) White, Thesis, 151
- (25) White, Thesis, 177
- (26) White, Thesis, 241, 169-70
- (27) Abdn. Counc., i, 328, 343
- (28) White, Thesis, 188
- (29) CR, xvi, 11; Abdn. Counc., i, 356, 362
- (30) Haws, Parish Clergy, 191
- (31) Prot. Bk. Cristesone, 414; Thirds of Benefices, 222; Reg. Min., 66
- (32) SR, vii, 43; CR, xxiv, 456; xxvii, 172
- (33) Abdn. Counc., i, 361; Spalding Misc., ii, 55

- (34) White, Thesis, 174
- (35) New Grove, ii, 269
- (36) White, Impact, 95; CR, xxiv, 613
- (37) J. Durkan, 'Early Humanism and King's College', Aberdeen University Review, clxiii (1980), 272; Abdn. Counc., i, 366
- (38) Abdn. Counc., i, 370; ii, 65, 66
- (39) White, Thesis, 2, 232
- (40) Abdn. Chrs., 335
- (41) Abdn. Chrs., 71, 100
- (42) St Nich. Cart., ii, 380, 287, 297
- (43) St Nich. Cart., ii, 377; 386
- (44) J. Spalding, History of the Troubles, (Aberdeen, 1829), pp.193, 291, 316
- (45) Abdn. Chrs., 231, 235; St Nich. Cart., ii, 384-5
- (46) St Nich. Cart., ii, 380, 287, 297
- (47) St Nich. Cart., ii, vii-liv

## References to Conclusion:

- (1) White, Thesis, 12
- (2) CR, xiv, 76; xv, 428; xix, 407
- (3) M.H.B. Sanderson, Mary Stewart's People, 149
- (4) CR, v, 681
- (5) Abdn. Counc., i, 306
- (6) Abdn. Fasti, 271
- (7) CR, ix, 593, 601; Abdn. Reg., i, 380; ii, 109; CR, xvi, 113
- (8) St Nich. Cart., ii, 381; Abdn. Reg., ii, 114
- (9) White, Thesis, 150, 237, 345
- (10) White, Thesis, 62
- (11) CR, vi, 897; viii, 538; SR, iii, 26
- (12) Booton, 'Burgesses and Landed Men in North-East Scotland in the Later Middle Ages' (Aberdeen University Ph.D., 1988), 405-410
- (13) White, Impact, 89
- (14) Abdn. Counc., i, 315
- (15) White, Thesis, 152
- (16) Haws, 'The Diocese of Aberdeen and the Reformation', Innes Review, xxii, (1971)
- (17) White, Thesis, 91
- (18) White, Thesis, Abstract
- (19) White, Thesis, 178